

***Space and society: The contradictory
roles of public parks in São Paulo***

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Declaration

I, Fernanda de Macedo Haddad, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Signed: _____

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ABSTRACT

By exploring the usage of Ibirapuera and Carmo parks, the two largest and most attended municipal public parks in São Paulo, this thesis aims to discuss the role public parks play within socio-spatial constitution of urban public life. Furthermore, our investigation is concerned with the theoretical debate on the incorporation of the spatial problematic into critical social theory.

The approach to the urban socio-spatial constitution involves the problem of spatial segregation in São Paulo. The areas where these municipal public parks are located relate directly to the city's contradictory socio-spatial segregation: whereas Ibirapuera Park is located in the Southwest region, which concentrates the best public and private urban services, Carmo Park is to be found in the deprived and crowded East periphery.

Theoretically and methodologically, the investigation is framed by the socio-spatial dialectic proposed by Henry Lefebvre. The hypothesis is expressly related to the central theoretical problem of this socio-spatial dialectic: if space is simultaneously a product of urban social relations and an agent that conditions the nature of those relations, as suggested by the socio-spatial dialectic, then the public parks of São Paulo have a contradictory role within the city's socio-spatial configuration that goes beyond the logic of socio-spatial segregation.

Conclusions on the role public parks play within the socio-spatial constitution of São Paulo derive from an exploration of how the parks are used – which, in turn, involves an effort to apprehend the existing practices and representations of the parks' users. These are analysed by looking into the socio-spatial context that helped to bring them about. A contextual localization of the roots of the current users' practices and representations highlights the appearance of contradictory functions in the usage of each public park throughout the city's history of urban constitution. The contrast between both parks within a comprehensive overview of São Paulo's socio-spatial configuration provides the basis for analysing the contradictory roles that public parks play in the present-day constitution of São Paulo.

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Introduction

Among São Paulo's public parks, two aggregate roughly 80% of the city's park users: Ibirapuera and Carmo. Whereas the third most attended park in São Paulo, Aclimação, receives no more than 6,000 people during summer weekends, Ibirapuera welcomes around 130,000 users and Carmo nearly 84,000 people.

Their areas are also quite larger than the average 80,000 m² municipal park: Ibirapuera comprises 1.548.000 m² and Carmo has 1.500.000 m².

Ibirapuera was the only park to be created in São Paulo from the early 1930s to the late 1960s. It is located in the southwest region, the traditional wealthy urban area that is symbolically described as the 'central area' of the city. Its inauguration in 1954 was part of the commemorations of the IV Centenary of São Paulo.

Carmo Park is located in the east end of the city, a region predominantly inhabited by lower classes. It was inaugurated in 1976 in the lands of the old Carmo Farm (property of an influential elite family of the city), at a time when the peripheral expansion of the city had transformed the east end districts into residential area for the lower classes.

This research discusses the roles and potentialities of these two public parks and analyses the spatial and social constitution of urban public life. Building upon the investigative trail opened by the social-spatial dialectic proposed by Lefebvre, the initial challenge is evaluating in which measure classical knowledge about modern social life can serve as a reference for understanding public life in a Brazilian city, in this case, São Paulo.

The first step in facing up to this challenge is a critical review of classic knowledge of public parks in the structuring process of modern public life, in order to establish a perspective on the socio-spatial constitution of public life in São Paulo. This approach should enlighten the concepts underlying the creation of public parks in the city.

In addition to mapping out the creation of the two most visited parks in São Paulo, the socio-spatial framework of public life in this Brazilian city establishes the

historical-geographical foundations for the research's critical analysis of the production, uses and representations of both parks, taking into account the social and spatial constitution of urban public life. It presupposes that the roles and potentialities of the parks are conditioned both by the socio-cultural forces that determine public urban life and by the complex processes of spatial segregation related to them.

Within this methodological framework, a historical-geographical analysis of park building is necessary to understand the prevailing concepts that permeate the parks' uses and representations. While an analysis of representations reveals the manners of displacement and dislocation that occur when the representation process is established, an analysis of the uses ascertains the contradictions inherent in how the dynamics of both parks affect and are affected by spatial processes. Establishing these contradictions is fundamental to reach conclusions regarding the current and potential role that public parks play in the socio-spatial reality of São Paulo.

This study is divided in 8 chapters, encompassing the overall proposal as follows:

The first chapter is a review of the main approaches to urban studies over the last century to theoretically situate the socio-spatial dialectics. It is organized in two parts. The first part discusses the modernist paradigm, the urban ecology and the Marxist tradition. The second explores Marxian discussion of urban issues in the 1960s and addresses Lefebvre's socio-spatial dialectics, the urban space within structuralistic Marxism and Foucault's spatial approach.

The second chapter approaches the role of public parks in European cities as representative landmarks of a spatial order and an urban social life in the modern and contemporary ages. It is organized in four parts: from the Medieval to the Renaissance city, from the Renaissance to the Baroque city, from the Baroque to the industrial city and from the industrial to the contemporary city.

The third chapter lays out the theoretical methodological framework. It includes an overview of the hypotheses, of research issues and an explanation of the Regressive-Progressive method adopted in the investigation.

The fourth chapter discusses the problematic of urban public life in São Paulo. The theoretical assumptions regarding the existence of modern public life in São Paulo are presented in three parts. The first considers public life in the overall

Brazilian urban scene. The second deals with the rise of bourgeois public life in São Paulo and the third discusses the renovation of customs and urban improvements.

The fifth chapter seeks to characterize distinct public life moments in São Paulo. On one hand, by presenting a theoretical construction on the decadence of public life and the ascendancy of everyday life. On the other, by discussing abstract space and mass society in São Paulo.

The sixth and seventh chapters comprise the central investigation on the production, uses and representations of the two most attended parks in São Paulo. Each chapter is divided in two sections.

The first section of the sixth chapter, 'From the Hygienism to Developmentalism', approaches the historical-geographical production of Ibirapuera Park. The second section contains an analytical description of the uses and representations of this park, using information collected from interviews, press clippings since the inauguration of the park and other sources in the Department of Parks (DEPAVE).

The seventh chapter describes and analyses both the historical-geographical production of Carmo Park ('From Developmentalism to Environmentalism') and the uses and representations of the park, collected likewise from interviews, press clippings since the inauguration and various sources in the Department of Parks (DEPAVE).

Finally, the eighth chapter intends to present a coherent reviewing of the research as a whole, and, within the theoretical-methodological structure of the investigation, enlightening the concluding discussions on the roles and potentialities of the two most visited parks in the city of São Paulo.

1. Urban Approaches

This chapter reviews the literature on the relationship space-society within the scope of our awareness of the urban question over the last century.

It begins by examining the contextual fact that the transformations that occurred in representations of society and space throughout the 19th century were simultaneously and incoherently experienced in several areas, including science, art, architecture and industrial production.

Western knowledge was revolutionized by the thoughts of Marx, Darwin, Nietzsche, Freud and others. In the arts, Manet, Baudelaire and Flaubert instigated the first great modernist cultural thrust in the latter half of the 19th century and, around 1910, Picasso, Braque and Léger shattered the references of perspectival space.

While the representation of space was being changed in the arts, Einstein was working on his general theory of relativity, which would replace the Newtonian notion of space. At the same time, in the area of industrial productivity, Ford was putting forth a new assembly line that would establish a rationally conceived space to enhance productivity.

Regarding awareness of the urban question, the new conceptions influenced the emergence of the following currents that, throughout the 20th century, would provide a theoretical approach to the space-society issue: the modernist paradigm, the urban ecology and the Marxian social theory.

The modernist paradigm was a reaction to the new conditions and concepts of production. If construction must be as efficient as a factory assembly line, spaces should be created in keeping with this new rationalistic and progressive order. According to modernist architects, the new urban ‘functional order’ of space should be able to reorganize urban life so as to change society for the better.

At first, debate on this ‘functional order’ was connected to discussions on a collective and methodical urban land policy. Later, such discussions were superseded by the concept of ‘functional city’, thoroughly adapted to the requirements of capitalist land policies. This paradigm was incorporated by dominant power centres all over the world through the practice of urban planning. It was fundamental for the

reconstruction of European cities after World War II and changed the urban realm for at least half the world's population.

If the modernist experience triumphed in terms of global dissemination, the modernist ideology – namely, that its own spatial practices would change the world for the better – completely collapsed. Its legacy for our times is the well-known crisis of the modernist paradigm.

In the 1980s, a new urban projective practice, connected to ongoing neo-liberal policies, began to be implanted in European and American cities. This new projective practice attempts to distinguish itself as 'postmodern', since it is no longer related to the idea of urban planning in a global sense. Determining if this 'new' strategic planning is indeed disconnected from the modernist paradigm or if it is merely a revision (brought about by new market demands) of the old modernist rationalist objective remains a controversial issue in contemporary critical social theory.

The ecological approach to urban phenomena was theoretically rooted in the social materialism that incorporated Darwin's theories to establish analogies between social fabric and biological life. Such analogy, present in the thoughts of Spencer, Comte and even Durkheim, became central for members of Chicago University's Sociology Department by the 1920s, and instigated them to consider the exploration of 'urban problems'.

'Urban ecology' or 'human ecology' can be divided in two phases. During the first period, before World War II, the Chicago School concentrated on sociobiogenic factors to explain behaviours that caused patterns of spatial arrangements. Thus, in spite of the fact that the first ecological period is intrinsically conservative, it is nevertheless responsible for establishing a means to analyse the urban phenomenon in terms of spatial location.

After World War II, urban ecology re-emerged in association with neoclassical economic theories, and produced a unified approach that would dominate discussions on the settling of space in urban economics, geography and sociology. Gottdiener used to call it 'the conventional approach'.

Marxian social theory, during the first half of the 20th century, was rooted on the belief that materialism leads to the primacy of history (time) over space. Justifications

for this anti-spatialism involve the allegation that the inversion of Hegel's idealistic thinking proposed by Marx implies a materialist apprehension of history.

Anti-spatialism was supported by the fact that Marx did not concentrate his investigations on the issue of capitalist spatiality. However, there are, at times, mentions of urban history or geographical transformation in Marx' works. In *Grundrisse*, Marx shows how the process of 'commoditization' of the land occurred in European countries when capital invaded the countryside.

In *Capital*, he established the Trinity Formula: capital-labour-land as the three components of the capitalist mode of production. Therefore, it can be assumed that he had planned to retain a discussion on land. Marx, however, died before concluding *Capital* and, despite the fact that the work contains several extended discussions on rent, the matter of land remained undeveloped.

Gramsci's work can be considered precursory to the incorporation of the problem of space into Marxism, since the question of territoriality is always present in his discussions about social formation.

Sartre's existentialist work, *Being and nothingness*, published in 1943, is also considered fundamental for the development of a spatial consciousness within Marxism. However, the actual incorporation of the problem of space into social theory only occurred in the second half of the 20th century, when some authors decided to face up to this theoretical challenge.

By the early 1970s, Castells was engaged in an attempt to assimilate the problem of urban space into the Althusser's structuralism. From this point of view, the structure of late capitalism contains a number of subsystems that operate similarly to the main structural systems. In this sense, the 'urban system', understood as a 'subsystem' of the larger social order, could be analysed according to the same threefold EPI schema (economics, politics and ideology) proposed by Althusser. According to this schema, each instance (the economic, the political or the ideological) is able to retain a degree of autonomy, although the economic instance overshadows the others. In his first work, the well-known *The urban question*, published in 1972, Castells states that, under modern capitalism, space has increasingly become a product of economic, rather than political or ideological processes. In every society, spatiality has been defined in accordance with the

dominant mode of production; in feudalism, for instance, the dominant instance was political-juridical, whereas in capitalism it is the economic. Castells establishes a discussion with Lefebvre's concept of space in order to set up this structuralist view of space.

Gottdiener¹ states that Castells' spatial view is only established through a number of 'theoretical reductionisms' required to set up a coherent structuralist system of thought.

According to Gottdiener², Soja³ and Harvey⁴, the French philosopher Henry Lefebvre was responsible for instigating a crucial debate on the role of contemporary space in critical social theory.

Within the orbit of Lefebvre's socio-spatial dialectics, space has acquired, on account of the establishment of the current capitalist mode, an original position in the constitution of society: space is simultaneously a product of social actions and the structure of those actions. Thus, space can no longer be considered a reflection of society, or a mere consequence of social relations, precisely because it plays a role in societal configuration (which might be better called socio-spatial configuration). In critical social theory, according to this logic, space has the same ontological status as capital and labour, because space (like capital and labour) became a concrete abstraction under capitalism.

The surrogate of a prior 'absolute space' was taken in by a contemporary 'abstract space' as a result of the efforts of a space-controlling State to establish the capitalist mode of production.

The intrinsic characteristics of this abstract, State-controlled space are the processes of 'homogenisation', 'fragmentation' and 'hierarchization'. 'Homogenisation' aims at establishing a common model everywhere or, in other words, at eliminating the differences that may have survived after their exclusion by the dominant powers. 'Hierarchization' presumes a socio-economic distinction or a

¹ GOTTDIENNER, Mark. *The social production of urban space*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994.

² *Idem, Ibidem*.

³ SOJA, Edward. *Postmodern geographies: the reassertion of space in critical social theory*. London-NewYork: Verso, 1994.

⁴ HARVEY, David. *The condition of postmodernity*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989.

classification of spaces. 'Fragmentation' refers to the various manners of parcelling out land for the marketplace. Thus, fragmentation establishes a central contradiction in our current use of space: the conflict between use-value and exchange-value, or more precisely, the conflict between property and appropriation. Spatial fragmentation leads to the primacy of property over appropriation in capitalist spatial practices. However, whereas appropriated space *par excellence* remains unfeasible within capitalism, the usage of space preserves the dialectic movement involving appropriation and property. Thus, real appropriation of space subsists as a potentiality in contemporary society. Spatial appropriation (on a planetary scale) is a process that would come about simultaneously to transcend contemporary capitalism's false consciousness.

Therefore, in order to deal with the subjective-objective relationship of the citizens' spatial practices, Lefebvre incorporates and expands the concept of representation. The theoretical issue of the relationship between practice, representation and ideology is a central question concerning the usage of abstract space.

Within the socio-spatial dialectical framework, representations correspond to an interpretation of reality developed from lived-out experiences and conceived understanding. Effectively, they refer to a mediation between what is 'lived' and what is 'conceived'.

Representations are an abstraction, marked by a sensitive nature rather than an intellectual disposition. Thus, representing implies psycho-political social action, because representations circulate around that what support them, namely, the institutions, symbols and archetypes. For Lefebvre, the interpretation of present-day life is no longer carried out through symbols, figures or historical facts, but is produced with signs, images and, primarily, representations. The capitalist mode has acquired a power that derives from the perpetuation of representations – inasmuch as representations are responsible for leading ideologies from the field of the 'conceived' to that of the 'lived' experience. To propound a critical analysis of representations is, from the perspective of exploring the genealogy of such representations, to reveal which ways come about when the process of representing is established. Furthermore, the aim is also to find the representations that eventually retain what might be called 'consciousness of the possible'.

Despite the fact that Lefebvre never developed a critical study specifically on the issue of urban public parks, in many of his works he did mention the matter with regard to contemporary urban ‘green areas’ or, more specifically, to public parks. Particularly in *The urban revolution*, he suggests that the issues related to urban green areas require an in-depth analysis, since they are an essential part of the ‘critical phase’ – which for him meant the period of transformation from our current society (still defined by agrarian life) to an ‘urban society’ (the society that will result from complete urbanization). The present investigation intends to contribute to this theoretical requirement proposed by Lefebvre’s framework.

1.1. THE URBAN APPROACH AND MODERNITY

Conventionally, the so-called ‘project of modernity’ emerged in the 18th century, when thinkers of the Enlightenment were searching ways to free humanity from the last remains of the feudalism. As Habermas⁵ affirms, this project sought to develop rational modes of thought and rational forms of social organization in order to release civilization not only from the irrationalities of myth, religion and superstition but also from the arbitrary use of power. The project sought universality and everlastingness by establishing an objective science, a universal morality and law and an autonomous art according to the inner logic.

Harvey⁶ believes that the prerequisite to the construction of a society that guarantees individual liberties and human welfare is to pay attention to the rational ordering of space and time, since the project also implied the reconstruction of the spaces of power. In fact, as Lefebvre⁷ reminds us, throughout the 18th century there was a permanent tension between the free appropriation of space for individual and social purposes and the domination of space through private property and by the state and other forms of class and social power.

⁵ HABERMAS, Jürgen. *Modernity: an incomplete project*. In: H. Foster (ed.). *The anti-aesthetic: essays on postmodern culture*. Washington: Port Townsend. 1983.

⁶ HARVEY, David, 1989.

⁷ LEFEBVRE, Henry. *The production of space*. United Kingdom: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1998.

Thus, for instance, while the rise of the Ordnance Survey in England or the systematically cadastral mapping in France were supposedly examples of progress, the thinkers of the Enlightenment were formulating projects that laid out their conceptual foundation on the transformation of the concepts of space and time during the Renaissance. Although they started out from Renaissance conceptions of space and time to construct their humanism, it is important to remember that Renaissance time and space were organized to reflect the glory of God, whereas the landscape of the Enlightenment was organized to celebrate and facilitate the liberation of a new 'Man', free and self-aware. In this sense, during that time a more rationalized architecture (such as that of Bouleé) emerged in Europe to replace the intense baroque architecture that glorified God. As Harvey pointed out:

There is a continuous thread of thought from Voltaire's concern with rational city planning through to Saint Simon's vision of associated capitals unifying the earth by way of vast investments in transport and communications and Goethe's heroic invocation in Faust – 'let me open spaces for many millions/to dwell in, though not secure, yet active free' - and the ultimate realization of exactly such projects as part and parcel of the capitalist modernization processes in the nineteenth century.⁸

But if the paradoxes Enlightened thought engendered a critical response, the 'project of modernity', especially that of the 19th century, is far from being a coherent and unifying program.

For instance, during the 1840s, while Auguste Comte's positivism was diffusely imprinting its mark on academic production, Marx, who in many respects was also a child of Enlightened thought, worked (from the viewpoint of Hegelian dialectic) on a project to transform utopian thinking into materialistic science.

In the 1860s, after Charles Darwin had just published his *Origin of species*, Nietzsche would defy the very core of Enlightened thought by arguing that under the surface of modern life (dominated by knowledge and science) laid wild, primitive and totally cruel vital energies. Modernity, for him, was subjugated by this vital energy

⁸ HARVEY, David, 1989. p. 249.

(the will to power) swimming in a sea of disorder, anarchy, destruction, individual alienation and despair.⁹ Not much later, Max Weber would decree that the beliefs and expectation of Enlightened reason had grown into an incongruous illusion. He believed that the development of instrumental rationality had not managed to guide humanity to genuine freedom. On the contrary, it allowed the establishment of a bureaucratic rationality that, in societal terms, functions as an 'iron cage'.¹⁰ The European context in the mid 19th century was different from that of the thinkers of the Enlightenment. The transformations that occurred in France, Germany, Austria, Italy and England in 1848 had a worldwide impact¹¹. While the vast expansion of foreign trade investment were putting the major capitalist powers on the path to globalism, local workers' movements no longer had obvious boundaries and *The communist manifesto* was able to establish a universalistic proposition. Since European space was becoming increasingly unified, precisely because of the international power of money, Harvey¹² considers that the events of 1847-1848 also challenged certainties regarding the nature of space and the meaning of money. He believes that the European crisis of 1847-8 created a crisis of representation involving the sense of time and space in economic, political, and cultural life. In fact, during this time, modernity was part of a universe in which, according to Marx, 'all that is solid melts into air'.

Harvey¹³ states that the growing sense of crisis in the experience of time and space climaxed just before World War I, when the world's spaces were deterritorialized, striped of their previous signification, and then reterritorialized according to the conveniences of colonial and imperial administration.

In this sense, if the first great modernist cultural thrust occurred in Paris after the events of 1848 (with, for instance, Manet, Baudelaire and Flaubert) the references of perspectival space were shattered only around 1910. As Lefebvre¹⁴ pointed out, with the disappearance of Euclidean and perspectival space as systems of reference,

⁹ BRADBURY, Malcolm; MCFARLANE, James. *Modernism 1890-1930*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1976.

¹⁰ BERNSTEIN, Richard.J. *Habermas and modernity*. Oxford: Polity Press, 1985.

¹¹ HOBSBAWM, Eric. *Era dos extremos: o breve século XX. 1914-1991*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1995.

¹² HARVEY, David, 1989. p. 260-261.

¹³ *Idem, Ibidem*. p. 264.

¹⁴ LEFEBVRE, Henry. 1998

many other former ‘common places’ – such as town, history, patriarchy, the tonal system in music, traditional morality, and so forth –also became obsolete. By 1910, while Picasso, Braque and Léger experimented with Cubism and abandoned the homogeneous space of linear perspective, Einstein was working on his General Theory of Relativity, which would be made public in 1916 (the first Special Theory of Relativity had came out in 1905). Meanwhile, as Harvey¹⁵ emphasises, Ford set up his assembly line in 1913, enabling a certain form of spatial organization to accelerate the rate of capital turnover in production.

Within the context of this temporal and spatial crisis of representation, different approaches to the urban issue re-emerged by the late 1910s. The focus on urban problems resulting from huge urban growth, the necessity for widespread rational planning and the discussion of socio-economic urban paradoxes are some points of views of modernist urban thought in which temporality prevailed over the spatiality in every social theory until the 1960s. Not only did Le Courbusier’s plans inescapably fix space amidst historical processes that were highly dynamic, but historical materialism would only really discover its geographical face in the 1960s. In this sense, the focus on the various approaches to urban issues in the 20th century underwent two phases, inasmuch as, after the 1960s, innovative socio-spatial methodologies emerged in social critical thought with a unified purpose: facing the generalized historicism present in the modern social theory.

1.1.1. The modernist paradigm

Initially, the modernist paradigm was marked by an effort to establish a universal and coherent formulation to promote original architectural practice concerned with the ‘modern age’. Being a reaction to the new conditions of production, the Modern Movement in architecture was an answer both to the technological transformations and to the changes in urban life that characterised the late 19th and early 20th century.

In this period, Europe embraced various modern movements that sought to liberate the arts from the shackles of tradition. Movements such as the De Stijl (1917-

¹⁵ HARVEY, David.1989. p. 266.

1931), formed by Dutch artists and architects, Art Nouveau (1893-1914), Expressionism (1912-1923) and Russian Constructivism (1920-1932) are contemporaries of the early Modernist Movement, whose rationalism derived from an enchantment with the 'new machine age' and was particularly engaged in urban concerns.

In second half of the 19th century, tall metal-frame buildings were being built in Chicago and New York, while the use of reinforced concrete was being introduced in architectural construction in France. Formally, whiles Haussman's geometrical order and Otto Wagner's doctrine of Purism were being disseminated from Europe, Louis Sullivan, a prominent member of the Chicago School of architects was proclaiming that 'form follows function' and, in France, Auguste Perret was attempting to produce aesthetic reinforced concrete. Although these architectural productions were modern, they are considered a basis for the modernist architectural production rather than a modernist experience itself.

The modernist paradigm emerged in the late 1910s, supported by a number of architects from several European countries. The theories developed by the Bauhaus School (in Germany) and by Le Corbusier (in France) are usually taken as examples of the early modernist stage, since they managed to catalyse the formulations that were in vogue during that period.

The Bauhaus School was founded in Weimar in 1919 and moved to Dessau in 1926, when Nazi influence made the Ministry of Education cut off its grant. It was finally closed down in 1933, when Hitler became Chancellor.

Despite its short-lived existence, the Bauhaus School provided an original philosophical grounding for architectural practice. The initial aim of Bauhaus was to heal the rupture between arts and crafts. Much of its inspiration came from the Arts and Crafts Movement led by William Morris, which sought to promote a new culture of artisanship that combined the power of the crafts tradition with a strong plea 'for simplicity of design, a cleaning out of all sham, waste and self-indulgence'¹⁶. In view of the fact that in 1923 Bauhaus adopted the idea that 'the machine is our modern medium of design', Harvey¹⁷ argues that the school was able to exercise the influence

¹⁶ RELPH, Edward. *The modern urban landscape*. MD: Baltimore, 1987. p.99-107.

¹⁷ HARVEY, David, 1989. p. 23-24.

it did over production and design because it define ‘craft’ as the skill to mass-produce aesthetically pleasing goods with machine efficiency.

Although the architect Walter Gropius headed the school during the first years, architects Mies Van Der Rohe and Hannes Meyer also played a fundamental role in establishing the grounds of Bauhaus. Furthermore, designer Marcel Breuer and artists Johannes Itten and Herbert Bayer were part of the school’s faculty, which also occasionally had the collaboration of renowned painters such as Paul Klee and Wassily Kandinsky.

Gropius began to shape his own philosophy of design and arts in 1911, while still a member of the German Labour League. He pushed forth his ideas of mass-producing art as individual masterpieces of design created as factory prototypes when working with architect Peter Behrens in Berlin.

Supporting a functionalist idea that beauty can be found in the simplicity of a purpose-built object and that modern design can integrate art and the ordinary household, Gropius was a leading figure in the foundation of this avant-garde school in 1919. As the school’s director, he changed the concept of the artist as an individual creator to that of creation as a result of group effort.

The Dessau years were the heyday of the Bauhaus, when the insistence on standardisation and the experiments in mass production led to a pioneering conceptualisation of industrial design. To its misfortune, however, Hitler’s totalitarian regime crushed any future the Bauhaus might have had. In 1928, Bauhaus began to fall apart and was finally closed down in the end of 1933.

At the same time the modernist movement was being suffocated in Germany, the fourth CIAM (Congrès Internationaux d’Architecture Moderne) was taking place aboard the *SS Patris* en route from Marseilles to Athens, led by Le Corbusier, whose legendary proclamation – ‘*Architecture or revolution. It is possible to avoid the revolution*’ – was not taken lightly in a Europe fearful of revolution similar to the one in 1917¹⁸. As Arantes¹⁹ reminds us, Le Corbusier considered his modernist architecture as a decisive effort to fight the symptoms that ‘disorganized capitalism’

¹⁸ It is important to remember that, in the Italy’s case, the MIAR (Movimento Italiano per L’Architettura Razionale) was not suffocated by Mussolini, who actually incorporated a version of the modernist style as part of his regime’s monumental architecture.

¹⁹ ARANTES, Otilia. *O lugar da arquitetura depois dos modernos*. São Paulo: Edusp, 1995.

was disseminating. *'By order bring about freedom'* was another of the Le Courbusier' slogans. Behind his fervour for rational order was his belief in the positivistic idea of order. His equally positivistic confidence in progress was also responsible for his conviction that the 20th century would be the age when engineering, technological progress and new ways of living would change the world for good.

Like Gropius, Le Courbusier was a pupil of the German architect Peter Behrens. He had also worked with Auguste Perret, the aforementioned French architect who pioneered the use of reinforced concrete. Corbusier brought these two early influences together in his 1915 *'Maison Dom-Ino'* plan. This house was to be made of reinforced concrete and was intended for mass production, but it was also flexible: as none of the walls were load-bearing, the interior could be rearranged in any way the occupant wished.

Corbusier defined his theories on Purism by 1918 in collaboration with artist Amédée Ozenfant. For them, purist rules were the only possible way to make architecture meet the demands of the machine age, since they allowed the architect to refine and simplify design and dispense with ornamentation. Architecture would be as efficient as a factory assembly line. With this in mind, Le Corbusier developed standardised housing 'types' like the *'Immeuble-villa'* (made real in the *l'Esprit Nouveau* Pavilion of 1925), and the *'Maison Citrohan'* (a play on words suggesting the building industry should adopt the methods of the mass production automobile industry), which he hoped would solve the chronic housing problems of industrialised countries. Despite his famous statement that 'a house is a machine for living in' in a manifesto published in 1921²⁰, his ideas were given full expression in his 1923 book, *Vers une architecture*, in which Le Corbusier remarks that houses should have the purity of form of a well-designed machine and compares the standardised efficiency of the motor industry with the inefficiency of the building trade. But despite his devotion to the machine aesthetic, Le Corbusier felt strongly that his architecture would reintroduce nature into people's lives. He was convinced that a rationally planned city, with standardised housing types, would provide a healthier and more humanistic urban life.

²⁰ Harvey remembers that this idea was in vogue during that time. The American journal *Good Housekeeping*, for instance, was depicting the house as 'nothing more than a factory for the production of happiness', as early as 1910. HARVEY, David, 1989. p.23

The first of his major urban plans was made by 1922. The *Ville Contemporaine* was a planned city for three million people with organized spatial design and a functional zoning division comprising twenty-four glass towers in the centre (the commercial district) separated from the industrial and residential districts by expansive green belts. His *Plan Voisin* was displayed in 1925 and is still considered nightmarish by many Parisians, because the architect intended to destroy virtually the entire north bank of the Seine and replace it with a small version of the *Ville Contemporaine*. In the *Ville Radieuse* project (1933-1935), long wedge-shaped blocks were laid out in parkland and the housing types were simpler than that of earlier plans.

In 1928, Le Corbusier, Hélène de Mandrot and Sigfried Giedion worked to establish the CIAM, spurred by a campaign in defence of Le Corbusier's unexecuted competition entry (1927) for the League of Nations Building in Geneva, and by the success of the *Weissenhofsiedlung* (1927) in Stuttgart – a permanent model exhibition of social housing in which several European modernists had participated. Thus, CIAM's foundation stands for the determination of modernist architects to promote their theories and for the establishment of the Modern Movement in architecture as an organized body, since it strove to formalise the various roots of Modernism into a coherent set of rules. CIAM soon became the major instrument for propagating avant-garde modernist ideas. Its mission statement called for architecture to be rationalised and standardised, and to be interpreted in the context of economic and political realities. Moreover, the early congresses (1928-1933) sought to reflect on the problems of urban planning. It was claimed that urbanisation should not be conditioned by any pre-existent aesthetics, characterised by the chaotic division of land resulting from haphazard sales, speculation and inheritance. On the contrary, it was imperative to establish a 'functional order' represented by collective and methodical land policies.

The congress took place regularly from 1928 to 1933 and after that from 1950 to 1956. If the early meetings can be characterised by its emphasis on functional zoning and on a single type of urban housing, the participants of congress' second stage began to react against this strict urban conceptualisation of orderly planning. These internal conflicts eventually led to the group's collapse after the 1956 congress in Dubrovnik.

During the first meeting, twenty-four architects signed the organisation's charter asserting that architecture could no longer exist in isolation, separated from governments and politics, and that economic and social conditions would fundamentally affect the buildings of the future. The charter also stated that as society became more industrialised it was vital for architects and the building industry to rationalise their methods, embrace new technologies and strive for greater efficiency.

Ernst May led the second CIAM, which focused on modernist housing and was the acme of the modernist architects' commitment to the quality of life of workers. Their proposal of a residential cell, seen as the starting point of the plan, incorporated a new kitchen design that took into account the new social role of women, the new electric household appliances and the new modernist buildings. They also attempted to transform the relationship between public and private in the urban configuration, since part of the domestic functions were transferred to the social equipment.

The fourth CIAM Congress in 1933 mentioned above was led by Le Corbusier when Hitler became Chancellor and centred around 'the functional city'. It consisted of an analysis of thirty-four cities and proposed solutions to urban problems. The conclusions were published as *The Athens charter*, one of the most controversial documents ever produced by the CIAM²¹. It remained unpublished for ten years, until 1943, when it became a fundamental paradigm for the practice of urban planning all over the world. (As Holston asserts, the modernist paradigm affected the urban environment of half the world's population). This paradigm denoted a zoned city, comprised of standardised dwellings and four different functional areas (work, home, circulation and leisure), with citizens living in high-rise, broad-spaced apartment blocs in specific zones separated by green belts.

Holston²² suggested that the consummate practical experience of the *The Athens charter* is the planned city of Brasília, built in the late 1950s as the new Brazilian capital. In spite of the fact that its project retained some peculiarities (modernist Brazilian architect Oscar Niemeyer, responsible for Brasília's buildings, had rejected

²¹ Holston argues that *The Athens charter* is a reductionist view of Le Corbusier's approach to the fourth Congress, which actually comprised a diversity of political and architectural outlooks. When writing this document, Le Corbusier expressly downplayed the antagonism between the members and strove to show a consensual version of the meeting. See HOLSTON, James. *A cidade modernista: uma crítica de Brasília e sua utopia*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1993, p. 46.

²² *Idem, ibidem*.

the Corbusierian straight line in favour of the curve; Lúcio Costa, the urban planner, established a fifth function – the historical heritage – that Le Corbusier would later include in his four urban functions), Brasília is undoubtedly a complete manifestation of the paradigm established by the CIAM, incorporating its strict functionalism justified by a humanist utopia. In his work, Holston not only discusses the paradoxes of this utopia but also shows how the Brasília's population typically adapt the functionalist proposal in their everyday life.

European public authorities were extremely influenced by the modernist paradigm after World War II. Harvey²³ demonstrates that after 1945 the modernist paradigm established a comfortable relationship with society's dominant power centres, losing the heroic character with which it had been imbued during the inter-war years. The author explains that the tendency was to look at the war-time experience of mass production and planning to launch a vast programme of reconstruction and reorganization, because if post war politics were to remain democratic and capitalistic, they would have to address the issues of full employment, decent housing, social provision, welfare, and a broad-based opportunity to build a better future. Thus, the reconstruction, re-shaping and renewal of the urban fabric supported by the modernist paradigm became an essential ingredient of the post-war project.

Le Corbusier actively participated in this second modernist period. For instance, The Unité d'Habitation in Marseilles, built in 1952, represented a synthesis of three decades of his household and urban thoughts²⁴. As a reaction to the current trend to mention only the unsuccessful modernist experiences, Harvey remembers that the Marseilles' project remains an immensely popular building to this day, yielding widespread public satisfaction²⁵. He affirms that it is unjust to depict modernist solutions to the dilemmas of post-war redevelopment as unalloyed failures²⁶.

²³ HARVEY, David, 1989. p. 68, 70.

²⁴ Seventeen stories high and designed to house 1,600 people, the Unité incorporates various types of apartments, shops, clubs and meeting rooms, all connected by raised 'streets'. There is also a hotel and recreation facilities.

²⁵ Nowadays, the the Unité d'Habitation in Marseilles is a coveted address for middle-class professionals.

²⁶ "War-torn cities were rapidly reconstructed, and populations housed under much better conditions than was the case in the inter-war years. Given the technologies available at the time and the

Henry Lefebvre believes the modernist paradigm completely transformed the relationship between space and society because it established a new space intrinsically related to the capitalist mode of production. This space, which he calls 'abstract space', was not a mere consequence of socially constructed relationships and would become an essential instrument in the reproduction of capitalist social relations and would play a fundamental role instigating capitalist social relations. In this sense, for Lefebvre, under the capitalist mode of production and the modernist paradigm, the space would acquire a social role that it had never had throughout history.

The basic modernist assumption that the establishment of a new spatial organization would lead to the institution of a new lifestyle was utopian (modernists were convinced that their 'functional architecture'²⁷ would change the world for good), but it was a utopia characterized by a belief in positivist notions of technological advance and rational order. In this sense, if Harvey carefully discusses the role of modernist architecture in post-war Europe, he also asserts that the real modernist tragedy is the fact that this myth did not correspond to reality. As he recalls:

Le Corbusier flirted with Mussolini and compromised with Petain's France, Oscar Niemeyer planned Brasilia for a populist president but built it for ruthless generals, the insights of Bauhaus were mobilized into the design of the death camps, and the rule that form follows profit as well as function dominated everywhere. It was, in the end, the aestheticization of politics and the power of money capital that triumphed over an aesthetic movement that had shown how time-space comprehension could be controlled and responded to rationality.²⁸

obvious scarcity of resources, it is hard to see how much of that could have been achieved except through some variant of what was actually done". HARVEY, David, 1989. p. 70.

²⁷ The program formula for 'functional architecture' can be summarized as objectivity, rationality, functionality and internationality. See ARANTES, Otilia, 1993. p. 55.

²⁸ HARVEY, David, 1989. p. 282.

1.1.2. Urban ecology

Urban ecology refers to a school of thought initially formed by members of the Sociology Department of Chicago University to study the diversity of urban problems that, according to their view, were being caused by the huge urban growth that was distressing Chicago in the 1920s.

Robert Park, Ernest Burgess and Roderick D. McKenzie, the leading practitioners of the early 'Chicago School' established a methodology for urban researches that explained urban patterns through what they called 'sociobiogenic impulses'. These impulses are the outcome of 'human behaviour' (that Park used to call 'human nature') and 'environmental forces' that, according to McKenzie²⁹, affected the selection, distribution and accommodation of the human beings in urban space.

For the first scholars of the Chicago School, the Darwinist force of competition establishes a 'biotic urge' in human behaviour that is responsible for spatial organization. The root of this urban thought was Spencer's³⁰ work (1909), which was influenced by Comte's thought; it innovatively formulated a relationship between social form and social function using Darwin's concept of competition between species.

Side by side with the 'biotic urge', a 'cultural urge' was also theoretically important to conceive human nature. Given the humans are considered communicative animals, the early Chicago School believed that social interactions occurred through symbolic exchanges that implied the exercise of freedom of choice. According to this school of thought, cooperation and competition are intrinsically present in social interaction and establish a consensus regarding personal conduct that is called a 'moral order'. The moral order is directly associated with geographical localization.

Despite the fact that 'cultural urge' may supposedly play a role in explaining spatial structures, actually the 'biotic urge' predominates in both the empirical and theoretical aspects of researches carried out by the early practitioners of urban

²⁹ MCKENZIE, Roderick. The ecological approach to the study of the human community . See PARK, R., BURGESS, E. & MCKENZIE, R. *The City*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1925. p. 64.

³⁰ SPENCER, Herbert. *Principles of sociology*. New Haven: Anchor Books, 1909.

ecology³¹. Thus, whilst prioritising Social Darwinist principles to explain human behaviour, the early Chicago School introduced cultural principles into the realm of social psychology, which was understood as less important than economic competition. In fact, these scholars were mostly concerned with the effects of economic organization and the competitive process in the collective models of social behaviour.

Both Mackenzie and Park explained spatial exploitation in the city by converting ecological forces into a theory of spatial location based on biogenic competition over land. Mackenzie established the 'Internal Structure Cycle' to explain how diverse ethnic groups or economic functions are segregated in the various regions of the city. The notions of invasion, succession and accommodation express a cycle of competition between populations of living organisms above spatial location.

Burgess was able to synthesize the first ideas of the Chicago School scholars in a model explaining urban form³². Given their belief that biogenic forces drive competition between social groups and economic forces, Burgess formulated a model to illustrate how the space of the city is the scenario of this competition. Here the notion of centrality is essential, because the centre of the city, by virtue of its position and as result of a historical process of agglomeration, dominates the spatial competition around it. Burgess argued that economic and political forces require a centre to organize social activities. The expansion and the internal differentiation of a distended metropolitan area should also be explained by the process of centralization and decentralization. Furthermore, his model demonstrated that various 'social pathologies' were related to a location or a spatial pattern.

Burgess' concentric zone model aspired to be applied worldwide and became not only a fundamental reference, but also an object of both empirical and theoretical

³¹ As Berry and Kasarda illustrated: 'Park was careful to point out that every human community actually was organized simultaneously on the biotic and cultural levels. He contended, however, that the proper focus for human ecology was the biotic level. Analysis of the decision to exclude ideational factors from the scope of human ecology eventually led to a substantial amount of polemics, and to a split among sociologists investigating ecological problems.' See BERRY, Brian J. L. & KASARDA, John D. *Contemporary urban ecology*. New York: Macmillan, 1977, p. 4.

³² Martindale summarized the role of the main scholars of the early Chicago School: 'One may sum up Park's conception of the city in a sentence: the city represents an extremely organized unit in a space produced by laws of its own. The precise statement of this external organization of the city in space – the badge by which the ecological theory is most quickly identified – was made by Ernest W. Burgess. The systematic statement of its inner "laws" was the work of Roderick Mckenzie.' MARTINDALE, D. *The city*. New York: Collier Books, 1962, p. 23.

critiques. The critical response to the investigations of these early practitioners of the Chicago School came from researchers from a sector of urban ecology called ethnography. In particular, they criticized the predominance of economic competition over the cultural values to explain spatial patterns. Hannerz³³ emphasized the anthropological character of ethnographical production and mentioned five authors whose work may be deemed ethnographies: N. Anderson (1923); F. M. Trasher (1927); L. Wirth (1928); H. W. Zorbaugh (1929); P. G. Cressey (1932).

In the 1930s, Alihan³⁴ pointed out the conceptual confusion created by the early practitioners of the Chicago School when they used the term 'community' as both an empirical object of research and a theoretical concept to explain that same research. Seeing that society is understood primarily as a community, Alihan considered that the notion of society was reduced by the first ecological approach.

The critique from the Marxists and specially from Castells, the main representative of structuralist Marxism, in *The urban question*, insinuated that the materialism of the first urban ecology was 'vulgar' because the empiricist emphasis of the ecologists relegated the principles of analyses. Thus, epistemologically and theoretically, the 'problem' of urban ecology is not relevant.³⁵ For Gottdiener,³⁶ the early work of the Chicago School may be considered a version of political economy. He believes that this force is intrinsically conservative because it masks the problem of the modes of production in a capitalist system. On the other hand, he recognizes the contribution of this school of thought when he says: 'I rejected the ecological approach because of its ideology, although I still appreciate its desire to analyse urban phenomena in terms of both their location and their internal dynamics.'³⁷

After World War II, the ecological approach became a response both to the culturists and to Alihan's conceptual critique. Two pieces of researches exemplify this period: the works of Hawley³⁸ and Duncan and of Schnore³⁹.

³³ HANNERZ, Ulf. *Exploración de la ciudad: hacia una antropología urbana*. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1986.

³⁴ ALIHAN, M. *Social ecology*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938.

³⁵ CASTELLS, Manuel. *A questão urbana*. São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 2000. p.185.

³⁶ GOTTDIENNER, Mark. 1994. p.29

³⁷ *Idem, Ibidem*. viii.

³⁸ HAWLEY, A. *Human ecology*. New York: Roland Press, 1950.

In order to propose a theory of metropolitan growth that explains urban form, Hawley started with Burgess' model, but emphasised the independent functional network of spatial organization. His model was supported mainly by Mackenzie's resort to functional interdependence and his approach to localization. In order to avoid the conceptual confusion pointed out by Alihan, Hawley acknowledged that the term 'community' was a theoretical concept. Since the 'cooperative' aspect of Park's competitive-cooperation formula was deemed to supersede the 'competition' aspect, his notion of community related to Darwin's idea of a 'web of life', rather than to his 'struggle for survival'. Focusing on the process by which a community as a whole adapts to its environment, Hawley's work addressed the Parsonian system of 'equilibrium-seeking'. Thus, using an organicist justification, Hawley explained the internal stratification of wealth and resources in his "ecological community" but avoided both the use of Marx's concept of class and Weber's concept of status.

Thus, according to Gottdiener,⁴⁰ Hawley's urban approach is even more conservative than that of the early Chicago School because he disregards their healthy appreciation for competitive struggle – as reflected in space for gangs, crime, and so on – in favour of a cooperative view of human interactions. The emphasis on collective adaptation promoted an approach to society that unrealised problems arising from racism, class structure, economic inequality or uneven spatial development. Moreover, its confidence on innovations in transport and communication to explain urban growth and change make the Hawley's theory technologically determinist.

Duncan and Schnore, on the other hand, proposed a type of analysis they called 'ecological complex'. According to this methodology, urban structure should be interpreted as an outcome of four fundamental elements: population (P), environment (E), technology (T) and social organization (O), the latter including collective institutions and social practices.

According to Castells,⁴¹ since the element 'social organization' comprised all 'social practices', it became a 'deposit of everything' and prevented accurate

³⁹ DUNCAN O.D.; SCHNORE L.F. 'Cultural, behavioural and ecological perspectives in the study of social organization'. *American Journal of Sociology*, sept., 1959

⁴⁰ GOTTDIENNER, Mark. 1994. p.38-40.

⁴¹ CASTELLS, M. 2000. p.186

articulations with the other elements. Furthermore, because the principles required to analyse the relationship between the four elements were not established, the authors found it difficult to convert observations into a conclusive theory. Thus, the only real contribution was the possibility to summarize certain empirical verification under that categorization⁴².

In spite of these critical judgments, urban ecology became an ever-present force in the various urban fields, establishing an essential kinship with neoclassical economic theories. In short, urban ecology re-emerged from World War II combined with those neoclassical economic theories and produced a unified approach that would dominate the discussion on settlement space in urban economics, geography and sociology.

1.1.3. The Marxist tradition

In spite of the fact that there are, here and there, references to urban history or urban transformations in his works, Marx did not concentrate his investigations on the urban issue. Nevertheless, in his critical understanding of the transition from feudalism to capitalism, he showed that during the institution of the capitalist mode a particular type of space was established, in which people were deprived of the access to land (except as wage labourers).

In *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie*⁴³, Marx distinguishes between feudal land and the modern landed property, the latter being a precondition for industrial relations of production in capitalism. In particular, the system of wages requires that land be considered private property and worked on as if it were a commodity. When capitalist social relations were applied to feudal landholding, the masses (who had access to land as a resource in the previous social structure) were driven off the land and turned into wage labourers. The peasants were either compelled to move to the cities or forced to work on former feudal holding as wage

⁴² Gist and Fava (1964) are also mentioned by Castells as an example of a similar work that encountered the same epistemological problem. See *Idem, Ibidem*. p. 187.

⁴³ MARX, Karl. *Grundrisse*. New York: Vintage, 1973.

labourers. Marx showed how the commoditization of the land occurred in European countries when capital took over existing land and made it expensive. However, the process arose on a fundamental contradiction: on one hand, since modern landed property is a prerequisite for the production and reproduction of wage labour, it is essential for the capitalism; on the other hand, modern landed property refers to a type of relation that obstructs the accumulation of wealth because the landowning class can maintain a piece of surplus value as rent. In this sense, capital requires the intercession of the State to retain the power of the landholding class.

In *Capital*, it can be assumed that Marx planned to continue the discussion about land, as evidenced by an edited fragment in the third volume. As published by Engels, Marx established the so-called Trinity Formula: capital-labour-land as the three components of the capitalist mode of production. These categories represent the ideological mystification necessary for the production of surplus value and generate the basic contradictions inherent in the capitalist mode of production.

As it is known, Marx died before finishing *Capital*. Thus, despite the fact that it contains several extended discussions on rent, the question of land remains undeveloped. In this sense, some thinkers presume that a discussion of land might have driven Marx to face the urban issue that possibly have led him to face the issue of space. On the other hand, there are a number of scholars who deduce that Marx simply refused to reflect on the urban question because he assumed that it was not a relevant issue. This last interpretation implies that Marx believed that modes of production change ‘naturally’ or ‘spontaneously’ and would give rise to transformations of the urban spatial organization.

Engels introduced the discussion on urban housing, while the key figures of the modernization of Marxism (Lenin, Luxemburg, Trotsky, Bauer) in the early 20th century propose a Marxist theory of geographically and historically uneven development as a response to the huge increase of monopolistic capital, corporate power and the imperialist States. Nonetheless, as Soja has pointed out:

The motor behind uneven development was quintessentially historical: the making of history through the unfettering struggle of social classes. The geography of this process, when it was seen at all, was recognized either as an external constraint or as an almost

incidental outcome (...) Like capitalism itself, the modern critique of capitalism seemed to be propelled through an annihilation of space by time.⁴⁴

In the 1920s, the Frankfurt School established a Marxian viewpoint that emphasised cultural analyses of modern society. The Frankfurt School's critical thought was philosophically supported by a neo-Hegelian notion of 'totality'. The actions of society and all its elements worked together as a dialectical 'moment', in which cultural and political requests were interconnected with the economic condition⁴⁵. Marcuse, Horkheimer, Adorno and Benjamin worked on the Marxian concepts of ideology and alienation in an attempt to understand individual actions under the capitalist system. For these scholars, ideology not only sustained the relations of production but also diffused the mechanisms of alienation. Ideology was responsible both for masking reality and for making reality acceptable. They argued that the 'totality' of the capitalist system, by exerting permanent pressure on individuals, replaced self-liberating processes with self-destructive processes – a replacement that might constitute a threat to the system itself.

In parallel with the Frankfurt School, Lukács and Gramsci also focused their work on how the cultural and political stances are marked by essential contradiction: they reproduce and legitimate the capitalist relations of production and at the same time constitute a catalyst for actions that might prevail over the system. Soja, however, pointed out a fundamental divergence between the approaches of these authors: while in Lukács "spatial consciousness is presented as the epitome of reification, as false consciousness manipulated by the state and by capital to divert attention away from the class struggle",⁴⁶ Gramsci's work relates to "an important but often neglected contribution to the development of Marxist spatial analysis".⁴⁷

Soja's justification for the anti-spatialism found not only in Lukács' work but also in a large part of Marxian political economy is related to an explanation present

⁴⁴ SOJA, E. 1994. p.33.

⁴⁵ HORKHEIMER, M. *Critical theory*. New York: Herder and Herder, 1972.

⁴⁶ Soja's work 'Postmodern geographies' was used as an important reference for this section since it keeps a deep and direct discussion about the problematic that involves the incorporation of spatial analyses within the Marxism. SOJA, E. 1994.

⁴⁷ *Idem, Ibidem*.

in *The production of space*, by Lefebvre. This author reminds us that Hegel believed that the 'State' (understood as a 'territorial spirit') guided history. Thus, historical time was 'fixed' or 'frozen' within the rationality of 'state-idea' as space. In other words, time is subordinate to space in Hegelian philosophy. The inversion of idealistic thought proposed by Marx implied a materialistic apprehension of history: the restoration of historical movement through the establishment of a revolutionary temporality. Thus, Marxian political economy is rooted on the belief that the Marxism leads to the primacy of time over space. According to Soja:

The possibility of a negation of the negation, a prioritised recombination of history and geography, time and space, was buried under subsequent codifications of Marx's theory of fetishism. A historical materialism dialectic was embraced as human beings were conceptualised in the making of history; but a spatial dialectic, even a materialist one, with human beings making their geographies and being constrained by what they have made, was unacceptable.⁴⁸

Soja also points out that, in addition to the theories of imperialism that were further developed by the followers of Lenin, Luxemburg or Trotsky and are usually remembered as leading the way of spatial thinking in Western Marxism, it is important to consider other genitors, such as Gramsci and the constructivist avant-garde of city planners, geographers and architects that between 1920 and 1925 worked to achieve a 'new socialist spatial organization' in the USSR. They were concerned with the need to forcefully pursue research on innovative spatial patterns as an alternative to the old spatial structure. In the end, however, these spatial experiments were never fully accepted and were totally forsaken under Stalinist policy.

In Soja's interpretation, Gramsci's work can be considered precursory to incorporating the spatial issue into Marxism, since the question of territoriality is always present in his discussions about social formation. He did not really talk explicitly about the spatial issue, but his approach to social formation as an 'ensemble of relations' allowed a contextual discussion on modes of production in time *and* space. Gramsci analysed urban and regional problems in Europe during the 1920s and in the early stages of the Great Depression in United States. He reflected on the

⁴⁸ SOJA, E. 1994, p .87.

contradictions created by hegemony, popular culture, State control and local organizations, and addressed them from the viewpoint of territorial structure. He also reopened the discussion on urban housing and highlighted the exploitation of the working classes both at their place of residence (the point of consumption and reproduction) and in the workplace (the point of production). With regard to the latter, he pointed out the need for a revolutionary awareness in which the capitalist crises were considered not only economically but also according to their political, cultural, and ideological effects on the workplace and on residential areas. Thus, Gramsci was able to criticize modernity in a way that is significant for the contemporary situation.⁴⁹

Finally, there is the decisive contribution of Marxist thought produced in France, from which the most significant methodologies replacing Marxian spatial analyses would emerge in the 1960s. As Soja reminds us, whatever its primary source, French critical thought preserved an ongoing discourse on space throughout the 20th century. For instance, Cubism and Surrealism were strongly engaged with matters of spatiality. In this sense, French Marxism was developed with less anti-spatial tendency than the Marxism established in other Western industrial countries.

The fertile land for the innovative socio-spatial approach of French Marxism in the 1960s was tilled in the 1930s, when Lefebvre initiated his intellectual production, and was propped up by Sartrean existentialism in the 1940s and by Althusserian structuralism in the 1950s, emerging as a distinctive interpretation of Marx's works.

From the early 1930s to the late 1950s, Lefebvre was one of the most influential forces in French left-wing humanism, publishing around thirty books and becoming a leading theoretician in his country's Communist Party. Although he figured among the most translated French writers in the 1950s and 1960s⁵⁰, surveys of French intellectual life during this period show that he was a continuous outsider. In fact, World War II disrupted Lefebvre's career. He was ill-treated not only by the Vichy regime during the war but also by post-War authorities for his communist writings. As he had been pushed out from the centres of intellectual influence, he completed his doctoral thesis on rural changes in la vallée de Campan in 1948. Published in 1963, this study became a fundamental reference on rural rent. Lefebvre frequently

⁴⁹ SOJA, E. 1994.

⁵⁰ In the 1960s, he figured as the second most translated intellectual, especially in terms of number of languages. See KOFMAN, E.; LEBAS, E. *Writing on cities*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1999. p.05.

mentioned that the investigations on rural sociology were crucial for him to shift to reflections on urban issues. In 1958, he was officially excluded from the Parti Communiste Français, a fact that he describes in his autobiography, *La somme et le rest*,⁵¹ as liberating for his thinking.⁵²

Since Lefebvre had been involved in Surrealism and Existentialism during his youth, his first writings reveal a Hegelian influence that would persist through all his work. In fact, despite being a materialist and having clearly accepted the Marx's assertion that social being produces consciousness rather than the reverse, he never tore the string that links Hegel to Marx. His approach to the Hegel-Marx relationship started in an early work, *La conscience mystifiée*, published in 1936 in a partnership with Norbert Guterman. They also published some versions on young Marx's work and a number of translations of Lenin's writings about the philosophy of Hegel⁵³. In 1939, Lefebvre published the acclaimed *Le materialism dialectique*, which, according to Soja (1994), is one of the most widely read introductions to Marxism ever written. Since he sought to oppose dogmatic reductionism in his interpretation of Marx, Lefebvre became the most influential early critic of Stalinist policies. His work *Logique formelle, logique dialectique* (1947) is a lengthy review of the dialectic method and an early draft of the theory of forms that would become fundamental in the construction of his urban notions. In the same year, he published the first of his four prominent books on everyday life: *Critique de la vie quotidienne 1: Introduction* (1947)⁵⁴.

In the first book, Lefebvre begins with Lukács' theories on class consciousness to establish his own concept of 'everyday' as a soul-destroying attribute of

⁵¹ LEFEBVRE, H. *La somme et le rest*. Paris: La Neuf de Paris. 1959.

⁵² As a reaction against the declining influence of Marxism and the tendency of many former left-wing intellectuals to drift into political agnosticism, Lefebvre would move back to a closer relationship with the PCF after 1978.

⁵³ Their early collaboration in *La conscience mystifiée*, the first-ever mass publication of the works of the young Karl Marx on alienation and his essays 'The German Ideology' and 'Theses on Feuerbach' influenced Walter Benjamin's Marxist analysis of culture. See SHIELDS, Rob. *Lefebvre, love and struggle spatial dialectics*. London: Routledge, 1998.

⁵⁴ The subsequent books about everyday life would be published in the 1960s (*Critique de la vie quotidienne 2: fondement d'une sociologie de la quotidiennete* in 1962 and *La vie quotidienne dans le monde moderne* in 1968) and in the 1980s (*Critique de la vie quotidienne 3: de la modernite au modernism – pour une metaphilosophie du quotidien* in 1981).

modernity⁵⁵. Lefebvre expanded Marx's and Lukács' thought by pointing out the various faces of alienation in every aspect of contemporary everyday life. Production and consumption are intrinsic parts of a cycle that imprints a generalized lack of significance on individual behaviour. Nevertheless, Lefebvre believes that the everyday life retains some un-alienated moments that emerge culturally as 'residues' – playful activities, for instance, may sometimes propitiate 'residual moments'.

According to Lefebvre, the 'everyday' was established by competitive capitalism by means of a set of strategies aimed at expanding the middle classes in order to allow the State to rise above society. This set of strategies structured middle class life around three instances: work, leisure and family, imposing a certain degree of alienation and de-alienation in modernity. In the subjective sphere, 'everyday life' corresponds to the daily organization needed to assure the continuity of material life.

Despite being part of a structure, work, family and leisure continue being distinctively 'lived' and 'perceived' in contemporary society. With the social division of labour (that resulted from a process by which productive activities ceased to be regulated by the pace of nature and began to be measured by the time allotted to social work), a separation arose in the physical space and in the space of social relations between the elements of everyday life. Thus, in the late 1940s, when Lefebvre published his first work on everyday life, space was the strategic locus of everyday life in his philosophy.

In the 1940s, the publication of Sartre's *L'être et le néant* (1943) caused enthusiasm in French intellectual life. Although the socio-spatial relationship would be better explored in *Critique de la raison dialectique* (1960), spatiality is already a subject of the earlier work, which presents space as intrinsically important for human consciousness, because it allows and presumes the fundamental existential distinction between being-in-itself (the being of non-conscious reality, of inanimate objects, of things) and being-for-itself (the being of the conscious human person). Sartre names the physical cleavage between subjective consciousness and the world of objects as 'nothingness', necessary for the being to be differentiated in the first place and to be conscious of its humanity. Thus, 'nothingness' is the first created space and provides

⁵⁵ Despite the fact that the concept of 'everyday' originated with Lukács, these works on alienation were never available to him, allowing Lukács to develop a distinct concept, 'reification', without the cognitive stress of Lefebvre's theory. See SHIELDS, R. 1998.

the ontological basis for distinguishing subject and object. In the early 1960s, Sartre formulated a better connection between his first existentialist approach to spatiality and Marxist theory. In this sense, some scholars (Lefebvre, for instance) consider that Sartre's work in the 1960s outstripped his early production. On the other hand, scholars such as Brazilian geographer Milton Santos⁵⁶, who also developed his work on Marxist basis, consider that even the first Sartre production was fundamental for developing Marxist approach to socio-spatiality.

In the 1950s, a philosophical movement in the social sciences called Structuralism would arise and dominate French intellectual life for a score of years. Since the structuralist focus on social phenomena disregards issues that involve individual actions, Marxist structuralism is inferred to be anti-humanist.

In fact, Louis Althusser, one of the leading first structuralist readers of Marx, asserted a particular version of Marxist dialectics. He believed that while the young Marx's theory involved anthropological or humanist concerns, the mature Marx focused on the issue of the laws that moved capitalism. Thus, according to Althusser, there is a disjuncture between the thoughts of the early Marx (before the publication of *Contribution* in 1857) and the later Marx, embodied in *Capital*. The humanist positions, found in the early Marx's, are understood as variants of idealistic philosophy. In this sense, he argued, an accurate interpretation of Marx's works implies in an effort to dissociate his thought from Hegel's, since even the later Marx's ideas are not fully articulated in a theoretical language divorced from Hegelianism (because Marx's work is constrained by the dislocation of Hegel's concepts). Althusser claimed that it was necessary to rise above idealism by building a 'scientific' approach of Marxian basis.

Althusser's structuralism hoped to attain this level of 'science' by converting historical materialism into a theory of social organization. According to his view, every social formation is a structure composed of economic, political and ideological (EPI) systems, each of which has a level of autonomy that can be comparatively explored.

⁵⁶ See Iokoi interviewing Milton Santos in IOKOI, Z. "Memórias da educação. Entrevista com Milton Santos". *Revista ADUSP*. São Paulo, no. 17, June 1999.

In spite of its rejection of Hegel, the structuralist bias was initially considered by some scholars (such as Foucault) as potentially opened to the matter of spatiality, since it represented an alternative criticism of historicism.

1.2. THE URBAN AND SOCIO-SPATIAL DISCUSSIONS FROM THE 1960S

During the 1960s, the conventional approach to urban economics, geography and sociology was a combination of neoclassical economic theories and premises developed in urban ecology. The neoclassical economic theories dealt basically with the matter of the urban location in the ecological sense⁵⁷.

Nevertheless, at some point of that decade, a new vision on the relationship between space and society would emerge from French critical thought about modernity. If Foucault was right in considering that in the modern age the space is treated as '*the dead, the fixed, the undialectical, the immobile*', and time, on the contrary, is '*richness, fecundity, life, dialectic*', in the 1960s the relationship between the '*becoming*' (time) and '*being*' (space), as considered by Sartre, was being rethought within a new social context. Lefebvre undoubtedly had a pivotal role in the efforts to discuss modern historicism and reassert space in critical social theory⁵⁸. Alongside Sartre, Foucault and Lefebvre, Althusser's also opened up to a possible incorporation of space into his theory. Even Castells was caught up in the spirit of French structuralism when he attempted to establish a spatial approach in order to exam 'the urban question'.

⁵⁷ As Gottdiener explains, 'On the one hand, the economics of location combined with Clark's distance-density ratio to articulate a two-dimensional analysis of intraurban spatial deployment which was dependent upon transport cost considerations (Alonso 1964; Wingo 1961; Mutch 1969). On the other, this essentially horizontal view of economic spatial organization has been modified over the years to include non-economic considerations, but only in a limited way (Mills 1972; Bourne 1971; Chapin and Weiss 1962; Goodall 1972).' See GOTTDIENNER, M. 1994. p. 41.

⁵⁸ Soja suggested that 'this perhaps least known and most misunderstood of the great figure in 20th century Marxism has been, above all else and others, the incunabulum of post-modern critical human geography, the primary source for the assault against historicism and the reassertion of space in critical social theory. His constancy led the way for a host of other attempted specializations (...) and he remains today the original and foremost historical and geographical materialist.' SOJA, E. 1994, p. 41.

The Marxist view rooted in structuralism started to occupy a central position in the production of urban knowledge, in parallel with an also emergent Marxian urban political economy and the aforementioned conventional neoclassical approach. In this sense, side by side with the urban structuralism of Castells and Lojnik, Marxian urban theories developed by the prestigious French School of Regulation and by Gordon (on spread city form) and Harvey (on built environment)⁵⁹ had profound impact on the studies carried out in different urban fields during the 1970s and 1980s, when a neo-Weberian position (represented especially by Saunders) also exerted considerable influence on urban studies.

Moreover, in the 1980s, a new urban order was being implemented in European and American cities, involving a new projective practice that attempted to distinguish itself as post-modern. If modernism had symbolically died on July 15, 1972, as Christopher Jencks believes, when a prize-winning project by Minoru Yamasaki, inspired by Le Corbusier's ideas, the Pruitt-Igoe housing development in St. Louis, was demolished as an uninhabitable environment for the low-income people it housed, and despite the fact that since the early 1970s new urban project experiences had begun to emerge, such as the Baltimore City Fair and Harbor Place, it was only in the 1980s that the urban projective practice, supported by the Barcelona re-urbanization experience clearly defined itself as a new urbanistic order.

'Strategic planning', one of the faces of the post-modern urban projective practice, would spread around the world in the 1990s, when, in the wake of the fall of the Soviet regime, it would imprint a generalized belief on neo-liberal policies through a central focus on the problem of urban competition.

'Strategic planning', whose concepts and techniques were originally systematized in the Harvard Business School from a number of 'management plans', is based on the idea that, under our current globalised economy, urban development can only be attained if the cities are able to establish conditions for expanding the new global market. In other words, cities must compete among themselves to obtain capital investments, attract industries and business and attract qualified labour. They should also be able to offer competitive prices and quality services. So, 'strategic

⁵⁹ Both start their explanation of urban forms by focusing on capital accumulation and class struggle.

planning' suggests that cities must incorporate the characteristics that turn them into a product to be offered in the global market.

On the other hand, as a reaction to this generalized neo-liberal trend, there was the increasing influence of scholars whose work in the previous decade attempted to revise the socio-spatial humanistic theories established in the 1960s. The work of Soja, Harvey, Gottdiener, Jameson, De Certeau and Bourdieu, among others, played a central role in re-establishing the debate on contemporary socio-spatial relationships. Lefebvre and Foucault, who considered these scholars critics of modernity, started being themselves considered by some of the aforementioned authors as the philosophical founders of an innovative post-modern socio-spatial view. From this time on, even urban studies strictly related to economics contained aspects of urban spatiality. For instance, the Saskia Sassen's global cities are seen as a spatial locus that allows the expansion of the global economy. Being the scenario for many potential social relationships (which Sassen did not specifically study), urban space is no longer seen as the narrow consequence of economic processes.

In order to establish a theoretical framework focusing on this research's subject matter, a decision was made to first review the work of two pioneers that, in the 1960s, innovated the socio-spatial debate: Lefebvre and Foucault. (With and additional focus on the early work of Castells, which meant an effort to engage Marxian structuralism in questions of urban space.)

1.2.1. The socio-spatial dialectics of Lefebvre

As already mentioned, Lefebvre reflected deeply on modern society before starting his work on space. For him, space, as considered by the problems of the urban sphere

(the city and its extensions) and everyday life (programmed consumption)⁶⁰, can hardly be apprehended by fragmentary sciences⁶¹.

In 1968, Lefebvre reviewed his two earlier works on ‘everyday’ in *La vie quotidienne dans le monde moderne* and, at the same time, published his first book specifically on urban questions, *Le droit à la ville*⁶², which, together with *Du rural à l’urbain* (1970) and *La révolution urbaine* (1970), Kofman and Lebas (1996) consider the first stage of his production on socio-spatial issues. The second stage begins with a critical review of Marx’ thought in *La pensée Marxist et la ville* (1972) and culminates with *La production de l’espace* (1974), when Lefebvre ascribes to space the same ontological status as capital and labour in contemporary capitalist modes of production. As Gottdiener (1985:128) pointed out, in Lefebvre’s philosophy space is a concrete abstraction – one of Marx’s categories, such as exchange-value, that are simultaneously a material, externalised realization of human labour and the condensation of social relations of production. (Concrete abstraction, therefore, also means the structure of the social actions and the product of such actions.)

After *La production de l’espace* (1974), the socio-spatial debate appeared occasionally in some of his subsequent works. It is present, for instance, in the third volume of his trilogy on the State, *De l’Eta* (I:1976, II:1976 and III:1977), in *La présence et la absence* (1980), where Lefebvre discusses the concept of representation as it relates to ideology, and in his last book on everyday life, *Critique de la vie quotidienne, III* (1981).

⁶⁰ ‘The problematic of space, which subsumes the problems of the urban sphere (the city and its extensions) and the everyday life (programmed consumption), has displaced the problematic of industrialization. It has not, however, destroyed that earlier set of problems: the social relationship that obtained previously still obtain; the new problem is, precisely, the problem of their reproduction.’ LEFEBVRE, H. 1998, p. 89.

⁶¹ ‘Is it possible to extract from fragmentary sciences a science of the city? No more than a holistic science of society, or of “man”, or of human and social reality. On the one hand, a concept without content, on the other, content or contents without concept. Either one declares that the “city”, the urban reality as such, does not exist but is only a series of correlations. The “subject” is suppressed. Or one continues to assert the existence of the global: one approaches and locates it, either by extrapolations in the name of a discipline, or by wagering on an “interdisciplinary” tactic. One does not grasp it except by an approach which transcends divisions. See KOFMAN, E.; LEBAS, E. *Writing on cities*. 1996, p. 95.

⁶² ‘So although *Right to the city* was the first of his major writings on the city, it was preceded by a number of diverse studies on the city in the past, present and the future. It took up a series of themes, some of which he had already written about in various essays, and were seen to be assembled in *Du rural à l’urbain*.’ *Idem, Ibidem*. p. 18.

Before focusing on Lefebvre's thought in *La production de l'espace*, considered by many his definitive work on spatiality (Kofman and Lebas; Soja; Harvey), it is important to introduce some of his earlier works on the urban issue.

Le droit à la ville (1968) was concluded by Lefebvre in 1967 to celebrate the centenary of the publication of Marx's *Capital* and published immediately prior to the events of May 1968 in France. Lefebvre was passionate about Nietzsche's philosophy, had tried in most of his works to establish a link between the thoughts of Marx and Nietzsche, and began his first book on urban spatiality with a Nietzsche quotation that claimed as property and product of man all the beauty and nobility usually attributed to real or imaginary things. In fact, this declaration is perfect to exemplify not only Lefebvre's notion of city (as an '*oeuvre*') but also his conception of utopia (as the search for a place that does not yet exist).

For Lefebvre, the city is situated at an interface, halfway between what is called the 'near order' and the 'far order'. The 'near order' concerns relations of immediacy—direct relationships between persons and groups that make up society (families, organized bodies, crafts and guilds etc.). The 'far order' is regulated by large and powerful institutions (Church and State), by a legal code formalized or not, by a 'culture' and meaningful ensembles endowed with powers. This abstract and formal order is conceived through ideologies that are projected into the pragmatic-material reality⁶³. Thus, the far order persuades through and by the near order, which confirms its power and makes it visible. Hence, for Lefebvre, the city is an '*oeuvre*' (an 'opera'), more resembling a work of art than a simple product. The production of the city and the social relations in the city refer to the production and reproduction of human beings by human beings, not to the production of objects. For Lefebvre, contemporary society is inventorying the remains of a millenarian society in which the countryside superseded the city and whose ideas, values, taboos and prescriptions were largely agrarian. Urban life has yet to begin and everyone is responsible for bringing it about.

Nowadays, the elements of social life and urban existence are dissociated, since everyday life has become fragmented: work, transport, private life, and leisure. The urban reality is specified by the paradoxical phenomenon of disintegration-

⁶³ See Lefebvre's analyses on how ideology is projected into the pragmatic-material reality in the topic 'Levels of Reality and Analysis' in KOFMAN, E.; LEBAS, E. 1996, p. 111.

integration: on one hand, urban social practice strives to be integrative; on the other, it practices the segregation. Lefebvre considers that practice tends towards segregation not only by social and political causes but also for theoretical reasons. Because analytical thought separates and delineates at the theoretical level, it fails when it wants to reach a synthesis. Thus, for Lefebvre, the city and the urban must be described as virtual objects, as projects of synthetic reconstitution. The notion of 'integration' as it presently relates to the ideological notion of 'participation' must find its genuine character. Real and active participation means self-management. In this sense a fundamental theoretical problem for Lefebvre is:

How could urban life recover and strengthen its capacities of integration and participation of the city, which are almost entirely lost, and which cannot be stimulated either by authoritarian means or by administrative prescription, or by the intervention of specialists?⁶⁴

Lefebvre argues that the architect, the planner, the sociologist, the economist, the philosopher and the politician cannot create new forms and relations out of nothing. Only social life (praxis) in its global capacity possesses such power. Despite that, people can clear the way individually or in teams. They can also propose, experiment and prepare forms. Moreover, they can assess acquired experiences, provide lessons from failure and give birth to the 'possible' as if it were a science. Lefebvre states that there is an urgent need to change intellectual approaches and tools. With this in mind, he proposes two innovative intellectual operations – the transduction and the experimental utopia⁶⁵ – and considers that there are other indispensable intellectual approaches to identify without dissociating the three fundamental theoretical concepts of structure, function and form. Above all, he remarks that it is crucial not to privilege one over the other; otherwise, we end up with an ideology, that is, with a closed and dogmatic system of significations: structuralism, formalism, and functionalism. In short, the realization of urban society requires a science of the city (of the relations and correlations in urban life). Although necessary, this science is not sufficient to create urban life. A social and political force

⁶⁴ KOFMAN, E.; LEBAS, E. 1996, p. 146.

⁶⁵ *Idem, Ibidem.* p. 147.

capable of incorporating these means into an '*oeuvre*' is equally indispensable, but this force can only be formulated as a transformed and renewed *right to urban life*.

The right to the city is a superior form of right: the right to freedom, to individualization in socialization, to habits and to inhabit. The right to the '*oeuvre*', to participate and appropriate (clearly distinct from the right to property), is also implied in the right to the city – specifically, the proclamation and realization of urban life as the prevalence of use-value over exchange-value.⁶⁶

In *La révolution urbaine* (1970), Lefebvre not only reaffirmed and amplified ideas already present in his earlier works, but also discussed some other issues in greater specificity. He started out from a hypothesis: the total urbanization of society, meaning that the proliferation and expansion of the urban fabric would eliminate the current residues of agrarian life. He calls 'urban society' the society that will result from such complete urbanization and that is in gestation in the bureaucratic society of managed consumption⁶⁷. He asserts that it is not industrialization, but urbanization, that will play a fundamental role in this future society and he audaciously suggested (in the early 1970s) that industrialization was losing importance in contemporary society. In this sense, the urban issue can never be reduced to a by-product of industrialization. If space and time were not defined by industrial rationality (and its project of homogenization), their 'differential' characteristic would be able to emerge and each existing space and moment would assume their peculiarity within the whole. For Lefebvre, in the 'urban' age, differences will be recognized and will acquire meaning. In order to define the properties of 'differential space' he introduced the concepts of iso-topia and hetero-topia, which are completed by that of u-topia⁶⁸.

La révolution urbaine establishes the notion of 'urban strategy' to eventually reach the status of urban society. 'Urban strategy' implies a distinct approach to political practice and social practice, the latter comprising industrial practice and urban practice. The aim of the urban strategy is to shift industrial practice from social practice in order to reinstate urban practice and open the way to urban society. The

⁶⁶ LEFEBVRE, Henri. *O direito à cidade*. São Paulo: EDITORA MORAES, 1991. p. 135.

⁶⁷ 'Bureaucratic society of managed consumption' is how Lefebvre defines contemporary society. This discussion is part of his book *Everyday life in the modern world*, written when he was looking for a definition of contemporary society.

⁶⁸ About this discussion, see the second chapter of *La révolution urbaine*. LEFEBVRE, Henri. *A revolução urbana*. Belo Horizonte: UFMG, 1999.

urbanism that involves the contemporary urban practice has the character of the dissimulator of the strategies. Instead of this, the critical urbanism should establish both: a critic of the urbanistic ideologies and a critic of the urban practices.

In '*La revolution urbaine*', Lefebvre makes an in-depth analysis of urbanism in both its institutional and ideological aspects. In the work's conclusion, he points out that merely incriminating urbanism does nothing to make us understand the passivity of people that are directly affected by urban projects. He argues that it is also necessary to consider other four essential issues: the blockage of imagination caused by everyday life; the recent and generalized disenchantment of the city derived from the common sense belief that everything urban is naturally chaotic; the fragmentation not only of the sciences and of knowledge, but also of the urban phenomenon as a whole; and, finally, the invariable disregard for the 'users' in urban and architectural projects. Lefebvre states that even if sometimes users are evoked or invoked, they are rarely convoked.

As mentioned above, *La production de l'espace* is the culminating work of another phase of Lefebvre's thought, where the author is concerned with the knowledge of space. While he argues in this work that knowledge of space can never be generated through a discourse 'on space', he converses with different authors, including Sartre, Foucault, Chomsky, Barthes, Derrida and Freud about the matter. Supported specially by Hegel, Marx and Nietzsche, whom he considered the only post-Hegelian philosopher that preserved the social significance of space, Lefebvre describes his logical-epistemological space as involved by three fields: the physical⁶⁹, the mental and the social. This understanding indicates that he is concerned with the 'space of social practice, the space occupied by sensory phenomena, including products of imagination such as projects and projections, symbols and utopias'. In fact, Lefebvre establishes his concept of 'social space' as a social product intrinsically related to these three spheres (the physical, the mental and the social), and formulates his notorious 'spatial triad' that refers to different moments of social space: the 'spatial practice' (social sphere), the 'representations of space' (mental sphere) and the 'representational space' (physical sphere). This triad also suggests a spatial expression for the 'conceived-perceived-lived' triad that is a constant presence in

⁶⁹ Lefebvre establishes his approach to physical space by arguing that physical space has no 'reality' without the energy that is deployed within it. LEFEBVRE, H. 1998, p. 13.

Lefebvre's reflection. The 'perceived' (spatial practice) concerns a mediation between the 'conceived' (representations of space), which refers to the realm of social concepts (and, hence, ideologies), and the 'lived' ('representational space'), which refers to the realm of the immediacy of life. In order to clarify the significance of each component of the spatial triad, it is useful to read Lefebvre's own explanation⁷⁰:

Spatial practice: The spatial practice of a society secretes that society's space; it propounds and presupposes it, in a dialectical interaction; it produces it slowly and surely as it masters and appropriates it. From the analytic standpoint, the spatial practice of a society is revealed through the deciphering of its space. What is spatial practice under neocapitalism? It embodies a close association, within perceived space, between daily reality (daily routine) and urban reality (the routes and networks which link up the places set aside for work, 'private life' and leisure). This association is a paradoxical one, because it includes the most extreme separation between the places it links together. The specific spatial competence and performance of every society member can only be evaluated empirically. 'Modern' spatial practice might thus be defined – to take an extreme but significant case – by the everyday life of a tenant in a government-subsidized high-rise housing project. Which should not be taken to mean that motorways or the politics of air transport can be left out the picture. A spatial practice must have certain cohesiveness, but this does not imply that it is coherent (in the sense of intellectually worked out or logically conceived).

Representations of space: conceptualised space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers, as of a certain type of artists with a scientific bent – all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived. (Arcane speculation about Numbers, with its talk of the golden number, moduli and 'canons', tends to perpetuate this view of matters.) This is the dominant space in any society (or mode of

⁷⁰ In the topic 'Individual spaces and times in social life' of his *The condition of Postmodernity*, Harvey elaborated an interesting interpretation of this triad. HARVEY, D. 1989, p. 38-39.

production). Conceptions of space tend, with certain exceptions to which I shall return, towards a system of verbal (and therefore intellectually worked out) signs.

Representational space: space as directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of ‘inhabitants’ and users, but also of some artists and perhaps of those, such as a few writers and philosophers, who describe and aspire to do no more than describe. This is the dominated – and passively experienced – space, which the imagination seeks to change, and appropriate. It overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects. Thus representational spaces may be said, though again with certain exceptions, to tend towards more or less coherent systems of non-verbal symbols and signs.⁷¹

Another possible interpretation of Lefebvre’s spatial triad is to consider ‘representational space’ as directly connected to the *id*, ‘spatial practice’ as a manifestation of the *ego* and the ‘representations of space’ as operating in the same level of the *superego*.⁷²

Lefebvre argues that before the capitalist mode of production was established, the physical sphere and the mental sphere resulted in the same spatial representation, since spatial conceptions were directly connected to the physical necessities of the human body. In other words, the split that generated the shift between ‘representations of space’ and ‘representational space’ occurred with the capitalist mode of production, when ‘absolute space’⁷³ was surrogated by ‘abstract space’.⁷⁴

⁷¹ LEFEBVRE, H. 1998, p. 38-39.

⁷² According to Freud's structural theory of the mind, the *id*, the *ego* and the *superego* function in different levels of consciousness. The *id* is the unconscious reservoir of drives, which are constantly active. Ruled by the pleasure principle, the *id* demands immediate satisfaction of its urges, regardless of undesirable effects. The *ego* operates mainly in conscious and preconscious levels, although it also contains unconscious elements because both the *ego* and the *superego* evolved from the *id*. Ruled by the reality principle, the *ego* takes care of the *id*'s urges as soon as the adequate circumstance is found. The *superego* comprises the individual's ideals derived from the values of his family and society and serves as a censor of the *ego* functions. It is only partially conscious.

⁷³ ‘Absolute space was made up of fragments of nature located at sites which were chosen for their intrinsic qualities (cave, mountaintop, spring, river), but whose very consecration ended up by stripping them of their natural characteristics and uniqueness. Thus, natural space was soon populated by political force [...] Absolute space, religious and political in character, was a product of the bonds of consanguinity, soil and language, but out of it evolved a space which was relativized

Lefebvre considers that a study of the history of social space must deal not only with the formation, establishment, decline and dissolution of a given code, but also with its global aspects: the mode of production and the particular character of the institutions. He argues that a mode of production only asserts itself when it is able to engender social relationships and a particular space. In this sense, it is possible to associate the modes of production and the phases of social spaces they engender, since history of space may be expected to periodize the development of productive processes in a way that does not correspond exactly to widely accepted periodization. He writes that once there was the *analogical space* of ancient and tribal communities; the *cosmological space* conceived by the Asian mode of production, whose design of space sought to reproduce an image of the cosmos; the *symbolic space* of medieval towns; the *perspective space* of Renaissance cities; and, finally, the *capitalist space*, whose code was established by the modernist architects who were responsible for giving birth to abstract space.

In capitalist societies, geographical space tends to an extensive ‘spatialization’. This reality is not only fundamentally related to the commoditization of land, but also rises above this correlation, because social space became a ‘concrete abstraction’. In capitalism, movements brought forth by consumption demand that things be reproduced within the ‘space for production’ – which, in turn, requires a ‘space for reproduction’ controlled by the State to assure the reproducibility of things. Hence, the need to produce spaces. From a mode of producing things in space stemmed the production of space itself:

It is concrete in having a given substance, and still concrete when it becomes part of our activity, by resisting or obeying it (...) It is abstract by virtue of its definite, measurable contours, and also because it can enter into a social existence (...) and become the bearer of a whole series of new relations (...) ⁷⁵

and historical. Not that absolute space disappeared in the process; rather it survived as the bedrock of historical space and the basis of representational spaces (religious, magical and political symbolisms).’ Lefebvre, H. 1998, p. 48.

⁷⁴ ‘It was during this time that productive activity (labour) became no longer one with the process of reproduction which perpetuated social life; but, in becoming independent of that process, labour fell prey to abstraction, whence abstract social labour – and abstract space”. *Idem, Ibidem*, p. 49.

⁷⁵ *Idem, Ibidem*.

Abstract space is actualised through the processes of *homogenisation*, *fragmentation* and *hierarchization*. ‘Homogeneity’ means that the elements of abstract space are recognized all over the world and can be identified by the fact that the production and management of this space (homologous to the overall process of reproduction of society’s relations of production) is everywhere under the command of the State⁷⁶. ‘Fragmentation’ refers to the various manners of appropriation, structured upon private property that parcels out space, so to speak. However, as contradictions and collisions exist between public and private interests, fragmentation implies a conflict between *use-value* and *exchange-value*. According to Lefebvre, only political authority is capable of maintaining this space both homogeneous and fragmented, two incompatible attributes from a logical standpoint⁷⁷. ‘Hierarchization’ presumes a distinction between “noble and vulgar spaces” deriving from the social and economic hierarchy. Lefebvre considers that the concept of hegemony, introduced by Gramsci, is also useful for analysing the actions of the bourgeoisie in regard to space and looks or to show how space serves and how hegemony makes use of it, in the establishment, on the basis of an underlying logic and with the help of knowledge and technical expertise, of a system.

For Lefebvre, capitalism’s false consciousness is not the false consciousness of time, but of space. Thus, to abolish the capitalist State, space must be reappropriated on a planetary scale; historical time will indeed be rediscovered, but only ‘in and through a reappropriated space’.

Lefebvre revised the Marxian concept of appropriation (sharply opposed to that of property) and elaborated a distinction between dominated spaces and appropriated

⁷⁶ ‘Abstract space, acting as an instrument for domination, smothers that which tends to originate and emerge from it. This trait is not enough to define it, but it is neither secondary nor accidental. A lethal space, it kills its (historical) conditions, its own (internal) differences and any (eventual) differences in order to impose an abstract homogeneity [...]’. LEFEBVRE, H. *La production de l’espace*. 2nd edition. Paris: Éditions Anthropos, 1981, p. 427.

⁷⁷ ‘It is an act of political power, as it raises forth controlled fragmentation in order to further control it. This (dispersion, segregation, separation, localization) may eventually supersede a power that can only sustain itself by reinforcing itself. Such a (vicious) circle explains the increasingly severe character of all political authority, wherever it is exercised, in terms of a cycle of “pressure-repression-oppression”. This is how statist-political power makes itself omnipresent: by being everywhere, even if not in the same way: here it is diffuse, there concentrated – as divine authority in religions and theologies. Space enables the integration of economics and politics. [...] In the space of power, power does not show itself as such; it is dissimulated under the “organization of space”; it elides, it eludes, it evacuates. What? Everything that opposes it – by inherent violence and, if this latent violence is not enough, by overt violence.’ *Idem, Ibidem*. p. 369-370.

spaces. In fact, he is convinced that only by a critical study of space can the concept of appropriation be clarified.

He begins the discussion by remembering that property (in the sense of possession) might be a precondition to 'appropriative' activities, given that appropriation denotes a movement to replace a previous control. Thus, in principle, 'appropriated space' and 'dominated space' should be combined, since only a space modified to serve the real needs and possibilities of a group may be considered appropriated by that group. Nevertheless, Lefebvre demonstrates that the history of accumulation is the history of separation and mutual antagonism between 'appropriated space' and 'dominated space' (domination having usually prevailed over appropriation). As a whole, in our present time, the indoor space of family life (private space) is more likely to be appropriated than the outside space of community life (public space). He affirms:

It should be noted that appropriation is not effected by an immobile group, be it a family, a village or a town; time plays a part in the process, and indeed appropriation cannot be understood apart from the rhythms of time and life (...) An appropriated space resembles a work of art, which is not to say that it is an imitation work of art. Often such a space is a structure – a monument or building – but this is not always the case: a site, a square or a street may also be legitimately described as an appropriated space.⁷⁸

Lefebvre believes that the quintessential appropriated space would be a real space of pleasure. This space does not yet exist, since in capitalism the use of space bespeaks the dialectic movement involving appropriation and property (he introduces the notion of use-space when referring to the moment when spaces are 'lived' in). In the conclusions of *Production of space*, he insists that, overall, a science of space is concerned to the use of space:

A science of space or 'spatio-analysis' would stress the use of space, its qualitative properties, whereas what is called for is a knowledge (*connaissance*) for which the critical moment – i.e., the

⁷⁸ LEFEBVRE, H. 1998, p.165.

critique of established knowledge (*savoir*) – is the essential thing.
Knowledge of space so understood implies the critique of space.⁷⁹

Finally, it is important to mention that the questions concerning *The production of space* dealt upon here are just the essential issues of this work – which, according to Harvey, represents the culmination of Lefebvre's lifetime engagement:

The production of space is a book that broaches many such questions and does so from multiple angles (...) *The production of space* takes the form of a preliminary enquiry which contains much that is explosive, much that has the capacity to 'detonate' (a word he himself frequently chooses) a situation that threatens to become fixed, frozen and ossified. It is, above all, an intensely political document.⁸⁰

1.2.2. The urban space in structuralist Marxism

In 1972, Castells, then in his thirties, published *La question urbaine*, a pioneer work that intended to transpose Althusser's theories on social organization to the specificity of the urban system. Castells believes that the structure of late capitalism contains a number of subsystems that operate in a fashion similar to that of the main structural systems. In this sense, 'urban system', understood as a subsystem of the larger social order, may be analysed according to the same threefold EPI schema (economics, politics, ideology) proposed by Althusser.

Castells' first proposition was to conceptualise 'urban' within a Marxian view of the State and within structuralistic theory. While to the Althusserian schema each instance (economic, political or ideological) is able to retain a certain degree of autonomy, the economic structure preponderates in the capitalist mode of production. Castells also assumes that the spatial organization of relationships under modern capitalism has increasingly become a product of economic processes rather than

⁷⁹ LEFEBVRE, H. 1998, p.405.

⁸⁰ HARVEY D. Apud LEFEBVRE, H. 1998, p. 431.

political or ideological ones. He argues that spatiality has been defined in each society according to a dominant instance of the modes of production: in feudalism, the dominant instance was political-juridical; in capitalism, it is economic.

Furthermore, Castells claimed that one particular element is responsible for specifying the urban in the economic structure: the labour force. In this sense, 'urban' was defined as a spatial unit of the reproduction of the labour force. The so-called 'urban system' considers the processes by which the EPI structure interacts with this spatial unit (which he also specifies by means of another strict analysis of dominating instances) in order to produce built environments. The emphasis on the labour force is justified by the assertion that the reproduction of the labour force is intrinsically connected to the role of the State, because the reproduction of labour force depends on State's support of essential public goods that enable the processes of collective consumption.

This framework drove Castells to focus on problems associated with the process of collective consumption in his *City, class and power*. This change of the analytical focus meant Castells' work, from this point onwards, developed into an explanation of how urban problems are produced rather than of how space is produced (which is Lefebvre's area of interest). Castells kept his definition of 'urban' as a spatial unit of the reproduction of the labour force in order to formulate the notion of collective consumption – that the city is as much a product of an intervening State as it is of the economy. According to the framework, the State intervenes in collective consumption to carry out certain functions in the built environment that benefit capitalist interests. This can be observed in various situations: when assuring the provision of essential public goods, state intervention reduces the responsibility of the private sector to provide for the needs to reproduce the labour force, undermining salary demands. In addition, considering that State investment in public goods is non-profit activity, such investment is a form of capital devaluation required by the capitalist class to counter the falling profit rates over time.

Above all, Castells shows that State investment in the built environment is always carried out with private capital, either by financing the refurbishment of a wadding industry to make it more competitive or by guaranteeing through financial or functional support the social arrangement that mobilizes capital, so that private interests can expand their ability to accumulate capital. This argument takes into

account the fundamental contradiction of late capitalism, since, for Castells, State intervention is incapable of solving the basic crisis of capitalism.

In fact, Castells' view of urban social organization leads inextricably to a theory of the crises of capitalism as a whole. Starting out from the identification of the city as the site for the reproduction of the labour force, Castells developed a theory on the crises of capitalism associated with the dual aspect of governmental intervention in the private sector and its social responsibility of covering the ever-increasing costs of reproducing the labour force and sustaining the quality of people's life.

Castells' theory of the State is influenced by Poulantzas' theory of the State, according to which the State acts as a manager of class conflicts by making decisions and rules that favour the interests of monopolistic capital but are reasonably independent from immediate capitalist requirements. For Castells, the responsibility of the State on collective consumption is both to politicise environmental concerns and to produce social division between urban populations. The core of this social division is no longer class differences alone; recent social divisions are produced by State intervention rather than by economic relations.

For Castells, urban politics is not merely an epiphenomenon of class relations. In the urban political sphere, social divisions are related to inequalities in collective consumption. In this sense, Castells asserts that urban social movements that arise from this inequality precede the struggle of the working classes even while it tends to incorporate everyone into this conflict. Since the State has taken on the responsibility to assure quality of life for everyone, housing, education, transportation, and pollution and energy concerns have all become part of an increasingly widespread political agenda shared by the majority of the citizens. Thus, for Castells, urban social movements reflect both class conflict and the intervention of the State in the realm of consumption. The State's intervention aggravates class conflict in a specific way: collective consumption establishes new divisions in society that occasionally cross over class lines and spread political conflict into the urban environment in order to include various groups and dissimilar political positions.

This concise introduction to the early work of Castells is an effort to understand how this author established his methodology and to reflect on the urban and how his Marxian socio-spatial approach diverges from that established by Lefebvre. It is

important to remember that Castells' thinking – his incomplete theory of space carried on to his structuralistic concept of 'urban' or 'urban system'; his concern with 'collective consumption'; his formulation of the relationship between 'State intervention' and 'class conflict'; his emphasis on 'urban social movements' – is key to understand the direction his work would take in the two following decades. The fact is that, during this period, to agree with Castell's work required one to agree with the basic premises of Marxist structuralism.

Nevertheless, in the text *The world has changed: can planning change?*,⁸¹ published in 1990, Castells expressed his recent conviction that the flexibility and complexity of the new globalised economy require the development of a 'strategic planning' to introduce a coherent methodology that counters the multiplicity of implications of the new productive and administrative structure.

During the 1990s, Castells worked as a consultant in a number of strategic plans, particularly for Latin America cities. Vainer discusses some paradoxes of the plan for Rio de Janeiro. To begin with, this extremely violent Brazilian city is characterized in the diagnostic as an example of social harmony and racial tolerance. After lauding these 'democratic aspects' of the city, the diagnostic highlights the 'strong visibility of homeless', leading Vainer to conclude that poverty is defined as an 'environmental problem' in the plan.⁸²

This 'strategic' interpretation of poverty (seen as an 'environment') can be found not only in the plan for Rio de Janeiro but also in the paper by Castells and Borja *As cidades como atores políticos*⁸³, published in a Brazilian magazine and in the book *Local y global: la gestión de las ciudades en la era de la información*⁸⁴.

In this paper, the authors claim that local governments must build a strong and positive urban image to promote the city abroad. This image must be based on the offered infrastructure and services that, in a few words, are the main elements to

⁸¹ CASTELLS, M. *The world has changed: can planning change?* (Keynote Speech, ACSP Annual Meeting). Austin, Texas, 1990, Mimeo.

⁸² VAINER, C. B. *Espaço intra-urbano no Brasil*. São Paulo: Studio Nobel: FAPESP/Lincoln Institute, 1998.

⁸³ CASTELLS, M.; Borja, J. "As cidades como atores políticos". *Novos Estudos CEBRAP*, no. 45, July 1996. p. 152-166.

⁸⁴ CASTELLS, M. ; Borja, J. *Local y global: la gestión de las ciudades en la era de la información*. Madrid: United Nations for Human Settlements /Taurus/ Pensamiento, 1997.

attract people who facilitate urban exports, namely, investors, tourists and solvent users.

Vainer argues that this opening to the exterior is clearly discriminatory. The people who Castells and Borja wish to attract to their strategic cities are tourists and solvent users, not common users and tourists or poor immigrants expelled from their land or from other poor countries.⁸⁵ In sum, Castells formulations on strategic planning are entirely discussible because according to this conception, cities (or, rather, the commodity-cities) are seemingly produced only for a very qualified and specific audience.

In spite of that, it is important do not forget that Castells early works, until the 1990s, represented an important contribution to the Marxian discussions because it meant an effort to engage structuralism in the urban question.

1.2.3. Foucault's nexus: space, knowledge and power

An accurate review of Foucault's works undoubtedly reveals that they point to an ubiquitous set of spatial problems. For Foucault, power requires a space 'to go through' and social lives involve a particular space 'to go on'.

As Harvey emphasised, there is in Foucault's thought an intimate relationship between systems of knowledge (that are responsible for establishing techniques and practices for social control) and systems of domination in localized contexts.⁸⁶

This relationship between space and knowledge is central because Foucault's notion of power is, ultimately, divorced from that of State. Foucault believes that analyses of power should begin by examining the 'infinitesimal mechanisms' (pointing out the particularities of a mechanism) in order to see how these mechanisms have been taken over by even more general mechanisms and by global forms of domination. In this sense, for Foucault, there are no utopian schemes that can escape the power-knowledge relationship in ways that are not repressive. He strongly

⁸⁵ VAINER, C. B. 1998.

⁸⁶ HARVEY, D. 1989, p. 45.

believed that, while a global challenge to capitalism is imperative, this requires, first of all, a multi-faceted and pluralistic attack upon localized practices of repression in order to reach a 'new form' that avoids reproducing the same multiple repressions already diffused within the society.⁸⁷

Foucault clearly established his concept of space in the late 1960s: it refers to the concrete and abstract sites of social practices, which are simultaneously lived and socially created. It is not a neutral concept; it is not:

a kind of void inside of which we could place individuals and things or a 'void that could be coloured with diverse shades of light'. The space ('in which we live, in our time, and our history occurs') is a 'set of relations that delineates sites which are irreducible to one another' what allows characterizing this space as heterogeneous. These heterogeneous spaces, sites of social relations, are named by 'heterotopias'.⁸⁸

'Heterotopias' have existed in every society. They have been transformed and acquired different forms throughout history. Several such sites can be identified as 'heterotopias': cemeteries, churches, theatres, gardens, museums, libraries, fairgrounds, resorts, barracks, prisons, mosques, saunas, brothels and colonies:

The heterotopia is capable of juxtaposing in a single real space several sites that are themselves incompatible (...) they have a function in relation to all the spaces that remain. This function unfolds between two extreme poles. Either their role is to create a space of illusion that exposes every real space, all the sites inside of which human life is partitioned, as still more illusory (...) Or else, on the contrary, their role is to create a space that is other, another real space, as perfect as meticulous as well arranged as our is messy, ill constructed and jumbled. The latter type would be the

⁸⁷ HARVEY, D., 1989.

⁸⁸ FOUCAULT, M. "Of other spaces" In: *Diacritics*, v. 16, no. 1, 1986. p. 23.

heterotopias not of illusion but of compensation, and I wonder if certain colonies have not functioned somewhat in this manner.⁸⁹

In this sense, starting out from the late 1970s idea of a social nexus (space, knowledge and power)⁹⁰, Foucault, more persistently than ever, emphasized the central character of space in contemporary society: ‘I believe that the anxiety of our era has to do fundamentally with space, no doubt a great deal more than with time’⁹¹. Some lectures and interviews clearly show his positions on space in contemporary society.⁹²

If Anderson⁹³ interprets Foucault’s position as an abandonment of radical politics, Soja⁹⁴, on the contrary, considers that Foucault was consciously involving himself, together with Lefebvre, in spatializing the political project of the left.

Soja also remembers that the disclosure of Foucault’s socio-spatial thought was a reaffirmation of his position on the polemics around structuralism.⁹⁵ Foucault used to strongly stress that he himself was not a structuralist. In other words, he accepted the different view of history that was being developed into structuralism as a critical reorientation that might establish a new enlightened linkage between space and time. To structuralism’s presumed “denial” of history, Foucault replied by arguing that what they were constructing was a system to deal with history as spatial-temporal configuration, simultaneous and interactive, synchronic and diachronic:

Structuralism, or at least that which is grouped under this slightly too general name, is the effort to establish between elements that

⁸⁹ FOUCAULT, M. 1986, p. 25, 27.

⁹⁰ In 1977, writing a preface for Jeremy Bentham (*La panoptique*), Foucault reaffirmed his spatial preoccupation: ‘A whole history remains to be written of spaces – which would at the same time be the history of powers (both of these terms in the plural) – from the great strategies of geopolitics to the little tactics of the habitat.’ See FOUCAULT, M. *The eye of power* In GORDON, Colin (ed.). *Power/knowledge: selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977*. New York: Pantheon, 1980b. p.149.

⁹¹ FOUCAULT, M. 1986, p. 23.

⁹² See FOUCAULT, M. *Question on geography* In GORDON, Colin (ed.) *Power/knowledge: selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977*. New York: Pantheon, 1980a p.63-77, and RABINOW, P. *Space, knowledge and power* In *The Foucault reader*. Nova York, Pantheon Books, 1984. p. 239-56.

⁹³ ANDERSON, P. *In the tracks of historical materialism*. London: Verso, 1983.

⁹⁴ SOJA, E. 1994. p.63.

⁹⁵ *Idem, Ibidem*. p.18.

could have been connected on temporal axis, an ensemble of relations that makes them appear as juxtaposed, set off against one another, in short, as a sort of configuration.⁹⁶

For him, this synchronic configuration meant that the making of history dishevelled from the social production of space.

In this sense, Soja believes that Foucault never ceased being a historian, even if he followed a different path to establish a nexus between space, knowledge, and power in order to interpret history. He also emphasizes some similarities between Foucault's notion of "heterotopia" and Lefebvre's notion of "lived space".

Harvey, on the other hand, is a more severe critic of Foucault's position. He believes that since Foucault tends to see urban space as an autonomous formal system, independent from any simple historical determinism, its spatial imagery becomes a means to depict the forces of social determination. This separation, which allows Foucault to deploy spatial metaphors extensively in his studies of power, might however reinforce a political ideology that 'sees place and being with all its associated aesthetic qualities as a proper basis for social action.'⁹⁷

⁹⁶ FOUCAULT, M. 1986. p. 23.

⁹⁷ HARVEY, D. 1989.p. 304.

2. The public life and the urban park

During most of the 20th century, it was very common to relate public parks to the emergence of the industrial city. This approach prevailed because the functionality of the 19th century public park overlapped with the 18th century meaning of urban park. While the mass culture of industrial society was taking over old 18th century urban spaces, the very use of the word ‘urban’ started to be confused with the idea of the industrial city. Furthermore, as the so-called ‘urban problems’ were immediately associated with the problems of the industrial metropolis, the urban question itself tended to be reduced to a by-product of industrialization.

However, by the end of the 20th Century, the paradigm had changed. How should the urban complexes of post-industrial society be approached? Analyses of urbanization as the means and ends of industrialization had become essential, but were now insufficient. In this critical moment, the discussion of the ‘urban’ question, as established in *La Révolution Urbaine*, acquired a premonitory significance. As Martins (1999) wrote: “How could anyone dare to suggest, in 1970, that industrialization, somehow, was losing strength as the determiner of contemporary society?”⁹⁸

As part of the theoretical-methodological approach being established, the urban question involved both a spatial dimension and a critical evaluation of the urban continuities and discontinuities resulting from industrialization. This meant that scholarly research should pursue the genealogy of contemporary urban spaces, reviewing transmutations, discovering ruptures and revealing conceptions.

The urban parks issue in contemporaneity couldn’t possibly evade these new challenges and in keeping with the chosen methodological approach, the investigation of the actual roles and potentialities of the public park must presuppose an analysis of the changes in the spaces of public life throughout the history of urban social life.

Therefore, the present chapter attempts to unveil the genealogy of urban (public) parks and address a central question of the urban constitution, namely, the relationship between the spatial and social orders of public life since the urban resurgence of the

⁹⁸ LEFEBVRE, Henry. *A Revolução Urbana*. Editora UFMG. Belo Horizonte:1999, p. 7

modern era. Urban European culture, the dominant reference for urban make-up in the American continent, is the focus here.

Developing this “classic paradigm” enables us to structure our discussion of the public sphere in the urban culture of São Paulo. Only after such discussion it will be possible to investigate the actual social-spatial role of two metropolitan parks in São Paulo.

2.1. FROM THE MEDIEVAL TO THE RENAISSANCE CITY

Before the 14th century, we must apply public and private criteria to life in the city with caution, because medieval urban communities, formed mostly after the 10th century, do not match the meaning we attribute to such notions.⁹⁹

Whereas in monasteries and convents people lived in quiet isolation, dedicating themselves to contemplation, meditation or study, life in medieval cities was essentially collective – family production and commerce, oral apprenticeship, group prayers, communal baths, parish dances. The cities were places organized for living safely where everyone was included in a web of obligations and solidarity that guaranteed protection and provisions for all.

To the city square converged all urban relations, where churches, trade guilds (or corporations), workshops and residences were built, and where the open space could be used for various functions: markets, fairs, processions, religious acts, parties, punishment, and execution of criminals. In spite of the architectonic and morphological particularities that characterized each regional design, the medieval square was a multifunctional place of convergence par excellence.

This strong multifunctional aspect was a characteristic of both external and internal environments that constituted medieval urban spatiality.

⁹⁹ ARIÈS, Philippe. Por uma história da vida privada. In: DUBY, Georges & ARIÈS, Philippe (orgs). *História da vida privada 3: da Renascença ao Século das Luzes*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1991. p.7-19.

Squares, streets, courtyards and cemeteries were invaded by open markets and seasonal fairs. The international fairs, on the other hand, which took place during religious holidays and celebrations, began to occupy closed halls, covered courtyards and arched alleys.

Inasmuch as the environments did not constitute a metaphor of social and intimate life, the occupations and buildings that gave form to the city did not convey any ethical elaboration on the common good.

According to Sennett, before the emergence of Renaissance architecture, whether in the small lanes of Marais or in the environs of Notre Dame, the transit of passers-by was obstructed by the constant invasion of buildings in the circulation area. There was no divine, royal or noble subordination that obliged the buildings of medieval Paris to acknowledge one another.¹⁰⁰

The fact that, in the Middle Ages, social rituals were more associated with solemnities and liturgical celebrations (that demanded explicit demonstrations of submission) than with built spaces concurs with the concept that the laws that governed the manners of the time were divine and natural.

Although there was no behavioural distinction between internal and external urban environments, an aristocratic conception of behaviour existed that was adopted by sectors of the upper secular class and the clergy. This conception emerged in France as *courtoisie*, in England as *courtesy*, and in Italy as *cortezia*.

Among the commoners, for instance, statutes were created forbidding the exchange of insults among butchers or comprising instructions on how clothing travelling salesmen should shout to attract clients.

The guilds, urban workers associations, were responsible for establishing these behavioural statutes. They regulated and supervised the quantity, quality and price of merchandise, controlled the offering of products and prevented rivalry between local workers and external competitors.

Together with the Church, the guilds were also responsible for organising rules concerning collective needs, later taken over by specialized institutions. The guilds of

¹⁰⁰ SENNETT, Richard. *Carne e pedra*. 4 ed. Rio de Janeiro: Record, 2006. p.164

both merchants and craftsmen were also responsible for leading young people into a trade and caring for the sick, orphans and elderly.

From the 13th century onward, however, as the classes of merchants and craftsmen began to be hierarchized, the guilds became increasingly obsolete.

The conflict of interests that began to pervade the relationships between different sectors of urban workers, and between them and the nobles, made it necessary to institute precepts of public rights and to create administrative institutions capable of controlling urban social order.

As the cities had become more influential with the growing strength of urban workers' oligarchies, the unification of national territories became the *sine qua non* condition for the expansion of markets. The expansion of business towards external markets required a coherent internal market that included not only trade barriers, tolls, taxes and customs, but also the development of uniform weights and measures.

Inasmuch as it became necessary for the oligarchies to transfer the power of the nobility to a power capable of granting universal meaning to Law and justice, the unification of national territories, through the centralization of the power in the hands of the monarchs, became inevitable.

The orders of power that were emerging in the cities as a consequence of public Law (military, judicial, constabulary) were exercised in the name of the king by members of the urban elite or by nobles who were allied to this elite and who used their own money in exchange for privileges. That clientele network, named by the king, was allowed not only to control the functions of Law, but also to provide personal favours.

This "Court State", as Elias¹⁰¹ calls it, became more and more an organism that sought to control the various centres of power and sociability that were arising from the continuous expansion of the market.

Although this structure of power did not yet clearly delimit the public and private domains, it helped to delineate the social contours of the intimate sphere. This

¹⁰¹ ELIAS, Norbert. *O processo civilizador*. V2 : Formação do Estado e Civilização. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar Editor, 1993.

happened because many private interests were constantly striving to partake in the power play by attempting to achieve representation within the social order.

2.2. FROM THE RENAISSANCE TO THE BAROQUE CITY

Let us keep in mind the Italian division of the European Renaissance – trecento (14th century), quattrocento (15th century) and cinquecento (16th century). It is possible to state that, after the 14th century, certain parameters of public and private life started being established.

At the end of 13th century, the realistic way in which Giotto painted people, conferring them individuality, caused great impact in various urban groups. As the literary works of his friend Dante Alighieri, Giotto's paintings signalled a new juncture of urban sensibility – even if paintings had a wider communicative scope, since the reading of books (i.e., manuscripts) remained an exclusive habit of the elites at least until the 15th century.

Italy was pioneer in linking public life to the use of the public square. The humanization of the ancient Roman spatial concept that was advanced by the Renaissance transformed the square into a stage where the aristocracy and high bourgeoisie could enjoy the pleasure of exhibiting themselves in the city.¹⁰²

Around the 15th century, the city squares of France, in front of churches and surrounded by administrative, corporate and residential buildings, and in Bruges, became the most visited sites of Europe. The Christian festivities were a time of big business and European merchants (as well as quite a few from the north of Africa, Palestine, Syria and Asia Minor) converged in the region of Flanders, Champagne and Lyon.¹⁰³

¹⁰² MUMFORD, Lewis. *The City in History - Its Origins, Its Transformations, and its Prospects*. London: Secker & Warburg, 1966.

¹⁰³ LAVEDAN, Pierre. *Renaissance et temps modernes. Histoire de l'urbanisme*. v2. Paris: Henri Laurens, 1941.

Fig 1: Burgos, Plaza Mayor



Source: Zucker, P. Town and Square, Plate 89.

In the 16th century, when city squares flourished as the focal point of urban life in the European continent,¹⁰⁴ the English language still didn't have an adequate term for the Italian word *piazza*. There was the word 'market', which denoted the permanent commercial intersection of the city, surrounded by shops and the homes of artisans, where all the social classes commingled. There were also the 'site fairs', which were open areas available for intermittent commerce with foreigners but didn't necessarily remain in the same place. Simultaneously with these typically medieval spaces, the English were pioneers in organizing, in the surroundings of the city, sports grounds for the practice of ball games.¹⁰⁵

If the fashioning of the medieval English urban fabric did not include a locus for urban Renaissance life, it did engender an architectonic form that would catalyse and renovate the urban organization of the English city. The primordial space of the English Renaissance wasn't the square, but rather the theatre – which emerged, in the

¹⁰⁴ CLAVAL, Paul. Reflections on the cultural geography of the European city. In: *The city in cultural context*. Ed. John Agnew, John Mercer and David Sopher. Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1984. p.31-49.

¹⁰⁵ History of medieval garden design in Europe's Middle Ages. In: http://www.gardenvisit.com/history_theory.

Elizabethan era¹⁰⁶, as a form of renovation of verbal, written, architectonic and urban languages.

Fig 2: Elizabethan theatre



Source: elizabethantheatre.egress3.tail.nokialink.com.

2.2.1. Urban Theatre and Public Life in Renaissance England

The theatre allured the people since the 16th century, during the reign of Henry VIII (1509-1547), who was given the task of controlling representations in markets and fairs. However, it was during the reign of Elizabeth I (1558-1603) that the theatre became a publicly dynamic and transforming space.

The theatre began to work as a kind of forum, where the audience could position itself critically in relation to the actors, who used a poetic, exuberant and

¹⁰⁶ PROCKTER, Adrian and TAYLOR, Robert. *The A to Z of Elizabethan London*. Lympe Castle: Harry Margary with Guildhall Library, 1979.

comprehensive language. The plots might refer to the classical antiquity, to legends or to important facts of English or European history (royal succession, national aspirations, foreign politics). The characters reacted to and influenced the plot according to their social status and individual subjectivity. The conflict between the characters led to the religious, philosophic and scientific questioning that was typical of the Renaissance.

The success of the theatre in the Elizabethan Era was so great that it supplanted all other forms of entertainment in England. Sports fell behind in such a way that, in 1591, a law forbidding theatrical representations on Thursdays was enacted as an attempt to preserve bull and bear baiting. Sports players lost their space to actors because their rings were taken over by theatre groups attracting much larger audiences.¹⁰⁷

There is a lot of discussion about what might have favoured the waxing and popularization of theatre in this period of English history. A question to be considered is that, with the prohibition of sacred images after the Reform, miracle plays and religious ceremonies and parties lost the ability to enchant the people. For ages, enchantment had been an instrument that provided a mythical interpretation of life. The new theatre exerted widespread attraction not only for reviving a medium that interpreted life, but also because the dramas that were becoming popular proposed an alternative interpretation of reality that challenged medieval mysticism by placing Man and his conflicts at the centre of philosophical inquiry.

Another fundamental issue was the existence of two distinct social groups of cultured man in England, besides the clerics. The aristocrats, whose sons' were sent to the best European universities, comprised one group. Knowledge, which always had a dignifying character for the nobles, became an important instrument of political power in the commercial cities.

The other group was formed by the sons' of merchants and artisans who attended school, received an erudite education and acquired knowledge in excess of what was necessary to work in the family business. Proficient in languages, literature and philosophy, they formed a new social group with no clearly defined social

¹⁰⁷ FEIS, Jacob. *Shakspeare And Montaigne*. Project Gutenberg. Release Date: May, 2005.

function. Although not all attended university, many of them lost interest in their parents' profession. They formed a group of scholars with a high degree of erudition and few means of subsistence.

In the English universities, drama interpretation was, for a long time, assumed to be a pedagogical instrument for the development of poetic art and literature. With the dissemination of drama presentations, university theatricals disengaged from its eminently didactic aspect. The intermittent theatre seasons of the universities had become an academic attraction, whose audience included the nobility (the students' families) and, eventually, the Queen. The 'humanist drama' developed in English universities as a literary school had only limited interaction with the dramaturgy of the urban theatrical channels. Besides the mutual influence between academic and public drama, the old medieval division between nobles and commoners remained, delimiting in each field a peculiar literary form and a peculiar way of acting.¹⁰⁸ Therefore, although the nobles were the big sponsors of theatre groups, actors and dramaturges, few of them dedicated themselves to the public theatre – like John Fletcher and Francis Beaumont, who opted to study Literature instead of Law and were seduced by the cultural effervescence of London's theatrical milieu.

Most urban theatre dramaturges belonged to the new social group of scholars, who found in dramatic art a unique opportunity of using their knowledge as a form of expression and subsistence.¹⁰⁹ Christopher Marlowe, Thomas Dekker, Ben Johnson and William Shakespeare and many others were representatives of the group. Marlowe was the son of a shoemaker from Canterbury. Ben Johnson was raised by his widowed mother and bricklayer stepfather. Shakespeare was the son of a manufacturer of leather straps, bags and gloves from Stratford. Regarding the childhood of Dekker, the great literary artist of London street life who eked out a living in extreme poverty, there isn't much information except the fact that, as the others, he received high quality education.

If we consider the biographic and literary particularities of the playwrights separately, we'll see that Elizabethan public dramaturgy had a central role in the

¹⁰⁸ SCHELLING, Felix E. *Elizabethan Drama, 1558-1642: A History of the Drama in England from the Accession of Queen Elizabeth to the Closing of the Theaters*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin & Company. Volume: 2, 1908. p.51-92

¹⁰⁹ HARRISON, G. B. *Elizabethan Plays and Players*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1956.

process of transforming the medieval urban order into a commercial one. One of the telltale symptoms of the decadence of the feudal system in European cities was the increasing urban incorporation of land surrounding the towns. In London, theatre companies were important promoters of urban expansion, even if they developed in the bottom of the crisis, among the forces that influenced the urban sphere during that critical period.

In the city of London, according to the proclamation of 1559, jurisdiction over public theatricals rested on the mayor and the corporation, steady foes of drama. The antagonism, however, was due to causes other than the Puritan influence.

The major cause for the corporations' objection to plays – a cause that the Privy Council readily supported – was the recurrence of the plague. During the reigns of Elizabeth I, James I and Charles I, it seemed that every year was a plague year. It was paramount to check the spread of infection by preventing the gathering of crowds, and plays were forbidden whenever it seemed desirable.

Another objection advanced was against the overcrowding of narrow streets by people riding to – or, later, driving to – the playhouses, and by the concourse of loafers and beggars. Furthermore, apprentices and others were tempted to play truant and occasional tumults or crimes resulted from the massive number of people in holiday mood. A theatrical performance, like the performance of a miracle play in earlier times, meant a procession through the streets with drums and trumpets.

The preponderant influence of the corporation led to the consolidation of the emerging middle class' political importance. The nobles and the courtiers didn't necessarily share the same opinions in the decisions of the Privy Council.

The disconnect between the policies established by the corporations and the attitudes of the nobles and of the court regarding the theatre companies was evident. While the former created restrictive laws, the latter fostered the expansion of the urban theatre. The big sponsors of public theatre, as mentioned, were the nobles. Queen Elizabeth's passion for dramatic art has become a legend. Besides the Royal Company that she supported on a permanent basis, the best companies of the city were frequently invited to perform for the court. The material rewards from these performances came not only from the court itself, but also from the impetus to their public presentations given by their enormously enhanced prestige.

Above all, the greatest benefit a theatre company might obtain from being appreciated by the nobles was a certain protection from the continuous persecution of the puritans and the corporations. That was because, if court presentations contributed to its artistic and financial success, being invited to the court wasn't imperative for a play to become famous and lucrative. Not all the popular successes stemmed from the royal programmes.

Therefore, in addition to dramaturges living a marginal life, as was the case of the sharp-witted Thomas Dekker, two other basic behaviour patterns were somehow adopted by the commoner playwrights of the Elizabethan era in their inevitable relationship with the nobles. One was a constant attempt to develop acquaintances in the court, in order to remain protected and assure their presence at the events. The other was to relate to the nobles much as the emergent merchants did, namely, in an reverential but independent manner that aimed, above all, to expand their businesses.

A representative of the first pattern of behaviour was Ben Johnson, nine years younger than Shakespeare, who enjoyed the friendship of the nobles and, in his latter years, survived with a pension given to him by Charles I.¹¹⁰ At his pompous burial in Westminster Abbey, he received tributes from the court that Shakespeare, with his merchant-like social attitude, did not. The "Lord Chamberlain's Men" company, administered by Shakespeare, not only was lucrative, but also gave presentations to the Queen more often than any other between 1549 and 1600. In 1596, when presentations of any kind of play within the city limits of London were forbidden, the company led the negotiations to revoke the prohibition (that would last until 1600).

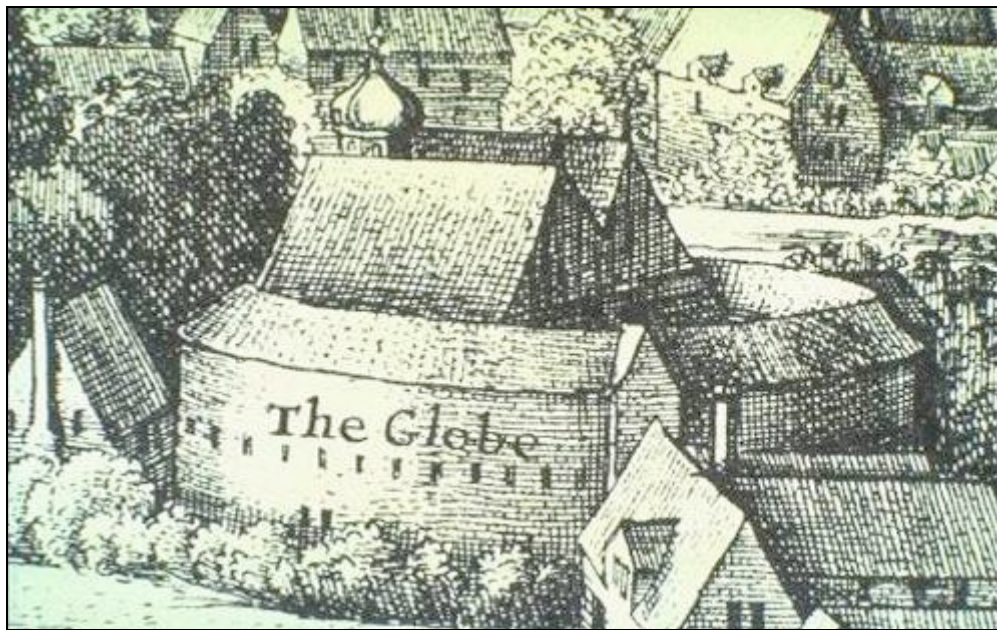
Therefore, theatrical production in the Elizabethan era was a conflictive affair caught in the middle of an urban process that tended towards the establishment of a commercial order. From the last quarter of the 16th century on, the contradictory forces that presided over theatrical production stimulated the construction of playhouses outside the Common Council's jurisdiction, but within easy reach of the citizens of London. In Finsbury Fields, the pioneering The Theatre (1576) and The Curtain (1577) were built; in Bankside, The Bear Garden (1576), The Bull Ring

¹¹⁰ HARRISON, G. B., 1956. p.168-190.

(1576), The Rose (1587), The Swan (1595); and further inland, at Southwark, the Newington Butts (1576).¹¹¹

The Globe (reconstructed for the Millennium celebrations) was inaugurated in 1996. Shakespeare and his partners decided to build another playhouse in Bankside because the unregulated district of Southwark, more than anywhere else, allowed the flourishing of alternative lifestyles. It is estimated that three to four thousand people daily crossed the river to Bankside in the days when The Globe, The Rose and The Swan were all open as playhouses – and coexisted, it should be remembered, with bull and bearbaiting. Audiences only fell during outbreaks of the bubonic plague.¹¹²

Fig 3: The Globe



Source: www.boisestate.edu/.../earlymod/trails/globe/

Theatres catalyzed the crowds. In the grounds near the theatres, stalls sold merchandise and refreshments, creating a market day atmosphere. The start of each play was announced by the hoisting of a flag and the blowing of a trumpet.

Although most of the audience were commoners who paid roughly a penny to sixpence for standing in the ‘pit’, the gentry also attended the public theatre. Nobles

¹¹¹ Elizabethan Theatres - Theaters, Amphitheatres, playhouses and Inn-yards in London with names, pictures and descriptions. In: <http://www.william-shakespeare.info/elizabethan-theaters.htm>.

¹¹² History of Elizabethan London Theaters - including the Globe Theatre. In: <http://www.william-shakespeare.info/elizabethan-theaters.htm>.

could watch the play from chairs set on the side of the stage itself or sitting in the galleries, often using cushions for comfort. Both men and women went to the plays, but the noblewomen would often wear masks to disguise their identity. The citizens of London, wishing to have their share in an amusement that had gone national, eagerly flocked to Bankside, to Blackfriars, to Shoreditch, or crossed green fields to reach the more distant Newington Butts.

When the playhouses were reopened in London in 1600, theatrical investments were directed to the city itself and a period of peace for theatre companies lasted until 1642, when the English Civil War broke out. Pressed by the Puritans, the English Parliament issued an ordinance suppressing all stage plays in the theatres. During the forty-two years that theatres were legal in London there was no motivation for investments outside the common council's jurisdiction: only two popular amphitheatres were inaugurated in Clerkenwell (The Fortune, in 1600, and The Red Bull in 1604), and The Bear Garden in Southwark was replaced by The Hope in 1614.

Within London, The Boar's Head amphitheatre was inaugurated in Whitechapel in 1600, the Whitefriars and The Cockpit playhouses opened in Westminster in 1606 and 1616, respectively, and in Salisbury Court (1629). In addition, the traditional Whitehall, the Gray's Inn and Blackfriars reopened and retook their position as favourite playhouses of the aristocracy. In 1600, the masterly presentations of The Lord Chamberlain's Men, which were particularly appreciated by the Queen, began to be staged at The Globe during the summer and at Blackfriars all through the winter.

Therefore, the contradictory forces that emerged in the last quarter of the 16th century and acted upon urban theatrical productions stimulated the development of the social and geographical dynamics that characterized a new moment in the urban order.

Besides the urban expansion brought about by the use of lands around the city, the Elizabethan theatre fostered the development of an urban sociability that would be carried over to the confused 17th century and reach its 'climax' in the 18th, when the urban spatial forms that originated in the early Stuart years would crystallize in the urban sphere.

2.2.2. Urban Parks in Modern Life

The urban park emerged alongside the process of organizing modern life or, in other words, during the constitution of the liberal urban order. (It should be kept in mind that liberalism was consolidated in England in 1688, with the Glorious Revolution; in France, with the French Revolution in 1789; in the United States, with the fight for independence in 1776.)

Urban parks were pioneered in 17th century England, when royal hunting fields began to be transformed into parks with an urban character: open to public use. In London, this happened with Hyde Park¹¹³ in 1637 and with St. James Park¹¹⁴ in 1660.

During the Middle Ages, unlike in Europe, city squares were relatively unimportant in England,¹¹⁵ except as market places, until the influence of urban theatres was felt. Nevertheless, open public areas emerged in the English urban sphere during the 17th century.

The actual constitution of public life in England, however, would only take place in the 17th century – and in a very disorderly way. Furthermore, the Stuart period was dominated by two disasters during the height of the Puritan power, the Great Plague and the Great Fire, and any expression of social appetite for the bawdier aspects of life was severely repressed.

It was only when the tensions between the private and public domains gave way to a certain stability, on the eve of modernity, that urban life was formalized into a coherent culture. For this to happen, common sense had to accept the idea that the demands of civilization and nature, however conflicting, were complementary.

¹¹³ In 1637, Charles I allowed public access to the Royal Reserve in Hyde Park.

¹¹⁴ Its 40 hectares were first made into a park of rigidly formal design in 1660. Charles II had a long canal excavated from the marshes and introduced geese, pelicans and waterfowl (which can still be found there today). He also saw through a network of avenues in 1661. In spite of the fact that Le Notre did not visit England, his design for the grass parterre was implemented in 1662. The Queen's House, by Inigo Jones, was built 1661-2 and later became the focal point of the park's design.

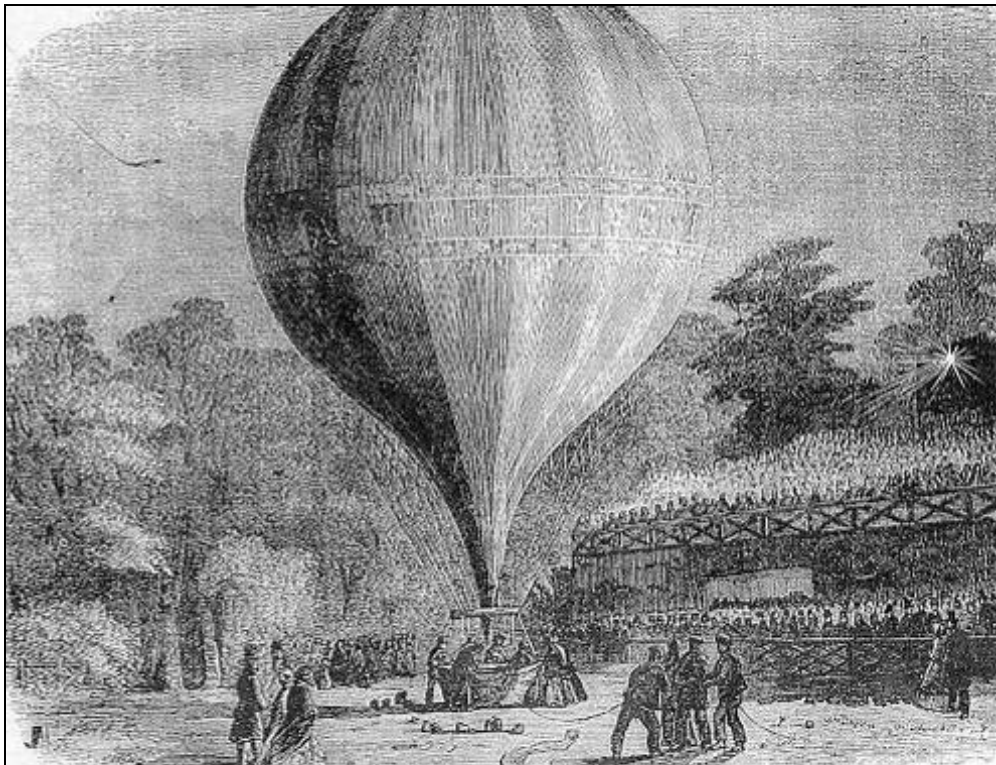
¹¹⁵ LAWRENCE, Henry W. The Greening of the Squares in London: Transformation of Urban Landscapes and Ideals. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. V83, N°1, mar.1993. p. 90-118.

Studies by Philippe Áries¹¹⁶ demonstrated that only in the Age of Enlightenment, when the public sphere was finally separated from private life politically as well as socially, that a real change in the general mindset occurred.

Public life was constituted amidst radical urban transformations. The new spatial forms that originated before the English Civil War were crystallized in the urban sphere in the last quarter of 17th century, after the Great Fire and a long period of development.

During the entire 18th century, the number of places where strangers could meet regularly – such as coffee shops, pleasure gardens and parks – increased enormously in London.

Fig 4: Vauxhall pleasure garden



Source: <http://www.vauxhallandkennington.org.uk/springgardens.shtml>

In other European cities, however, the English urban park model would only be implemented in the 19th century. The creation of gardens for public use began to disseminate in European and American cities in the 18th century, when the rituals of sociability became a cultural trait of life in the big city.

¹¹⁶ ARIÈS, Philippe. 1991. p.7-19.

It is known that, in the Age of Enlightenment, public order and welfare became paradigms for politics and for urban sociability. We do not intend to discuss here how politics and sociability became dissociated, but it's essential to keep in mind that public life was the vital core of urban society.

In the capitals, citizens were expected to extol the cosmopolis with behaviours that could be interpreted as cosmopolitan. This meant that relationships between unfamiliar people sharing the same urban spaces did not require a mutual simulation of ignorance, or even genuine ignorance. Impersonality and politeness were the parameters that enabled effective relationships among strangers. As Sennett explained, behaving toward strangers in an emotionally satisfactory way and, at the same time, remaining apart from them was considered, in the mid 1700s, as the way to transform the human animal into a social being.¹¹⁷

Fig 5: St James' Park



Source: atributetoart.com/item.php?id=1725

Thus, although the expression 'public park' appeared only in Pre-Victorian England, when green urban areas began to be related to public health issues of the industrial city, green areas opened to public use were incorporated to the urban web

¹¹⁷ SENNETT, Richard. *O declínio do Homem Público*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2001.

and were designed with clear aesthetic and landscaping concerns¹¹⁸. These were spaces that emerged from the urban cultural English framework.

These urban parks were inspired by the landscaping design of the English gardens, which were spurred by the romantic idea of a return to nature and by the influence of Oriental art and culture. The baroque garden and its geometric architecture and language, to which not only buildings, but paths, driveways and vegetation were subordinated, were abandoned. The new model was more informal, with curved lines and the landscape modelled into sloping hills, rivers, lakes, large fields and groves, suggesting the forms of nature by their arrangement.

The 18th century park was the idyllic scenario for the elite social rites, including “meeting up” and “showing off” whereas the Victorian public parks were aimed at the working classes. The 19th century park became to be designed to offer, for a considerable number of visitors, green areas and space for the new practices of leisure activities. This is the model of public park that will be disseminated throughout Europe and the Americas in the pre-modernist age of the industrial city.

2.3. FROM THE BAROQUE TO THE INDUSTRIAL CITY

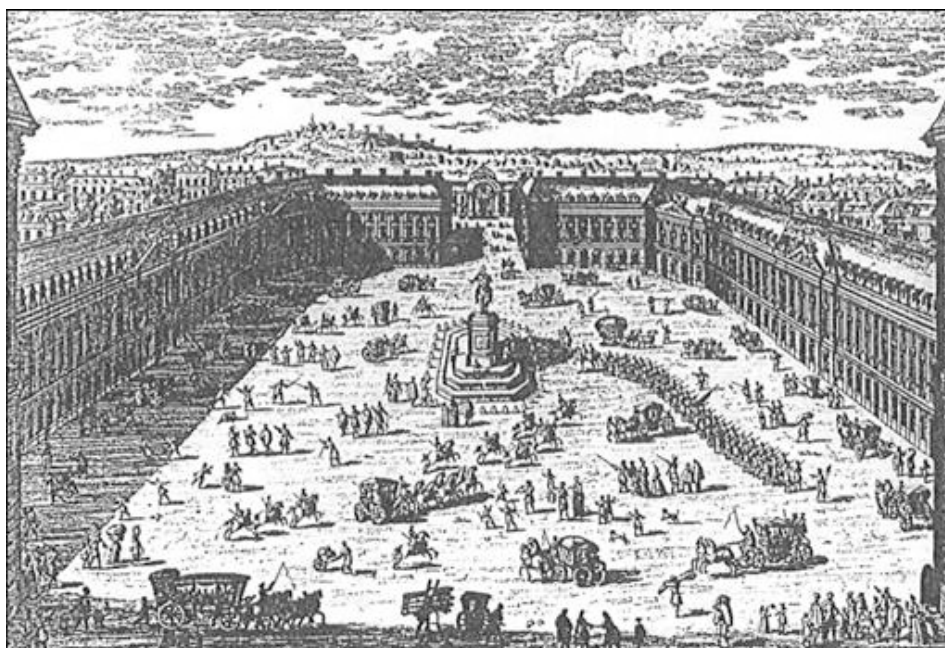
Before the establishment of industrial capitalism, the established knowledge interpreted time and space as indissoluble.

For a medieval craftsman, a Renaissance sailor or a merchant at Navona Square, the ways by which men interfered in the social and physical environments were spontaneously related to the cycles of Nature (the days, seasons, harvests, the growth

¹¹⁸ During the Renaissance, Italian gardens greatly influenced European landscaping planning. Initially, their aesthetics were characterized by rational forms, with small trees on which was applied the art of topiary. In a second, Mannerist moment, the vegetation was bigger and more lush. In the 17th century, the baroque gardens of André Le Notre for the Castle Vaux-le-Vicomte and for the Palace of Versailles began to influence landscape design for other castles and public spaces. The French gardens, characterised by displays of Nature dominated by men, with special attention given to geometry and symmetric uniformity, and with a visual perspective that emphasized the idea of monumentality, became the reference for landscaping design throughout the world. In the 18th century, however, English gardens began to stand out with their sinuous and romantic elements that sought a new way of relating to Nature and brought about a different way of thinking and representing natural landscapes, exerting huge influence on the French garden.

of beard, hair, nails, the rhythms of menstruation, pregnancy, children's growth and ageing).

Fig 6: Place Vendôme



Source: Zucker, P. Town and Square, Plate 64.

With the segmentation and specialization of production, the number of hours worked in Europe increased fourfold. Clocks became a very important article in polite society and acquired a fundamental role in manufacturing: to quantify working hours, enabling the control of production and wages. The popular saying 'time is money' emerged as time ceased to be a representation of the cycles of nature and began to refer to the quantification of labour.¹¹⁹ The measure of time was no longer the duration of events, but of hours worked.

Man's interference in the social and physical environments ceased to be spontaneously connected to the cycles of Nature because natural space acquired a function and pecuniary value, established by urban relations of production (Produktionsverhältnisse).

The 'commoditization' of land was a long and contradictory process in European cities. For instance, in the medieval city, the feudal lord faced the dilemma

¹¹⁹ SEABRA, Odette Carvalho de Lima. A insurreição do uso. In: MARTINS, José de Souza (org.). *Henri Lefebvre e o retorno à dialética*. São Paulo: Hucitec, 1996. p. 71-86.

of having to surrender some of his vassals in order to expand his accumulation of wealth, which derived from urban sources.¹²⁰

The commercial city didn't completely dissociate itself from the interests of the aristocrats and the clergy. It was only during the process of consolidation of the capitalist city that landed property definitely became a prerequisite of the relations of production.

Working hours became quantifiers of social relationships. They were charged with the fragmentation of productive activities and social relationships in different physical spaces. They also imprinted a feeling of regularity characterized by quotidian trips to and from work to home and by standardized leisure.

However, the regularity of rut life, as shaped by capitalism, did not come about immediately after the dissemination of industries in the cities. Irremediable routine struck the working classes immediately, who suffered the horrors of a completely unregulated industrial city, experiencing life as controlled by exhaustive working hours, housing problems and the mutilation of the environment by industries wherever they were located.

The overarching framework of capitalism, where time and space are experienced and interpreted separately, slowly imprinted itself upon urban life during the 19th century. The enactment of new Laws (governing property and labour), based on an Illuminist ethics and adapted to an industrialized milieu, contributed heavily to this construction.

Finally, the process was consolidated with the emergence of Modernism that unified means of production and aesthetics in a single rationalist paradigm to erect or reformulate cities, buildings and general objects of daily use.

Under this modernist concept, the city was reinvented according to the ideals of urban planning, which were applied to the entire urban territory that was beginning to be seen as a whole. The zoning regulations associated with this ideal expressed a requirement of compartmentalizing spaciality and activities of day to day work, leisure and housing. While the division of land produced discontinuous spaces (e.g.,

¹²⁰ MUMFORD, Lewis.1966.

suburbia), Urbanism, by encompassing notions of green, space and sun (such as Le Corbusier proposed), tried to dominate the expanded and segregated city. The architect himself was fond of referring to his modernist proposal of a functional city as a great park, in an “english tradition”.

As with other experiments that have sought alternative models for social life, the rationalistic urbanism (that became hegemonic through the propagation of functional urban planning) emerged as a response to social/urban decay imposed by the process of industrialization.

In this sense, the English tradition of countrylife that marked the conception of cities as the utopian socialists as well as the communities of "The Arts & Crafts movement" and Howard's Garden City, fundamentally composed the modernist conception. As Jane Jacobs taught, *"ironically, the Ville Radieuse comes directly from the Garden City"*.

The project of garden city, published in *"To-morrow: a Peaceful Path to Real Reform"* in 1898 refer to a concentric pattern with open spaces, public parks and six radial boulevards, 120 ft (37 m) wide, extending from the centre. Ebenezer Howard intended to propose a self-sufficient community surrounded by greenbelts, containing carefully balanced areas of residences, industry, and agriculture¹²¹.

In the modernist idealisation of the functional city, as was proposed by Le Corbusier in Radieuse Ville Plan, the concentric pattern was replaced by a linear model of urban structure with a hierarchical circulation system that separated the roads from the pedestrian routes. The buildings, sectorised into specific areas for housing, work and leisure would always be high on stilts. Thus, the conventional order of the lots was broken and the urban soil would become a continuous urban park free for pedestrians.

Before the emergence of the modernist concept, public parks had already started to be built with the objective of satisfying the demand for leisure activities. This was the immediate response to the intensification of urban expansion and the new rhythm of life introduced by artificial time – the time of the industrial city. Concomitantly,

¹²¹ The garden city would house 32,000 people on a site of 6,000 acres (24,000,000 m²), and when it reached full population, a further garden city would be developed in surroundings as satellites of a central city, linked by road and rail.

parks were a response to the need of developing “green” areas in the urban structure to compensate for the constructed areas.

These urban public parks, which had a fundamental role in the constitution of the pre-modernist industrial city, spread all over European and American cities. In England, the creation of parks during that period, which marked the urban landscape of cities profoundly, was linked to private investments and housing speculation. Regents Park is a good example, as well as the Buxton Pavilion Gardens and Birkenhead Park, created by Joseph Paxton. The latter was visited by Frederick Law Olmsted and inspired him to develop New York’s Central Park. The rise of the Movement of American Parks, led by Olmsted, provided American cities with a significant number of parks.

In France, between 1850 and 1860, the insertion of parks in the urban structure gained weight with the reformulation of the centre of Paris, idealized by the baron Georges-Eugène Haussmann, mayor of the Seine under Napoleon III.

Much was bequeathed by the experience of implanting green areas in Paris at the time when the city underwent dramatic urbanistic transformation. One fundamental legacy is the very concept of a new urban public park. The urban character of the park related not only to the fact that it was opened for public use but also that it was open as such during the consolidation of Liberalism. The public parks of the 19th century were functional, were spaces that held an objective meaning for the urban environment. In this way, the parks acquired a particular characteristic, namely, they were no longer a mere representation of nature or an extension of architecture.

Being inseparable from urban design was, therefore, inherent to the public parks (as exemplified by Parisian parks). This association derived from two characteristics of that model: that the parks were conceived as part of the system of streets (which were themselves part of the green system, as in the case of the boulevards), and that the parks possessed high formal, standardized quality, as determined by the Service des Plantations et Promenades, the agency responsible for designing and implementing urban parks, which was then directed by the notorious engineer Alphand¹²².

¹²² Jean-Charles-Adolphe Alphand published *Les promenades de Paris*, between 1867 and 1873, in which he detailed his experience in the creation of Paris’ green areas.

Parks and gardens were singular urban places where a Romantic language of English origin was still present, albeit reformulated and directed to the new characteristics of public life. According to professor Bartalini: “the French urban garden conferred to the English landscaping design a formal sophistication that corresponded to a public lifestyle that valued refinement and the technological achievements of modernity”¹²³.

Panzini¹²⁴ also related the design of parks to the features of public French life, quoting Françoise Choay¹²⁵ (in *Revue d'art*) on the originality of Parisian parks: “The parks designed by Alphand impose such urbanity on the gardenesque that it prolongs the classic French tradition when it aims at the pleasure of looking and it responds to the desire for exhibition”.

However, as Richard Sennet elucidated in the classic *The fall of the public man*, the obstinacy found in the urban culture of the 19th century, with its attempts to reorder and reaffirm public life, was a way of dealing with the corrosion by industrial capitalism of the principles of public order inherited from the Ancien Régime. Although the ideal of social order and sociability of the Century of Enlightenment was forged in the social structure that was emerging from the new means of production, its genuine meaning was continuously getting lost.

Therefore, the urban reorganization developed by Haussmann was no more than an adaptation of space to the new impositions of industrial capitalism. More than a concern with the dynamics of public life, the renovation of Paris revealed the intention of ordering the city facilitating circulation for a market in expansion.

According to Lefebvre, with the competitiveness of industrial capitalism, the space of social life (which he called as ‘absolute social space’), which was previously determined by use-value, became more and more abstract and dominated by

¹²³ BARTALINI, Vladimir. *Parques Públicos municipais de São Paulo*. Dissertation for Doctor's Degree. Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo / FAUUSP, São Paulo, 1999. Mimeographed copy. p. 66

¹²⁴ PANZINI, Franco. *Per i piacere del popolo- L' evoluzione del giadino pubblico in Europe dalle origini al XX secolo*. Bologna: Zanichelli, 1993.

¹²⁵ CHOAY Françoise. *Haussmann et le système des espaces verts parisiens*. *Revue de l'Art*. N° 29, 1975. p. 83-99

exchange-value¹²⁶. This means that urban space turned into something abstract, like money, and has an active and a passive role in the structure and movement of capitalism. Lefebvre believes that, with the emergence of the modernist concept that leads to the large-scale production and reproduction of space, the absolute social space starts to make sense in an unconscious, concealed, latent fashion.

Fig 7: Place de L'Étoile



Source: Zucker, P. Town and Square, Plate 72.

In this way, it was in a decadent context of public life that parks were disseminated throughout industrial cities. When we mention the design of the Parisian parks of the 19th century, characterized by their round and elliptical shapes and tangents revealing extreme geometrical precision (a far cry from the picturesque effects of their English counterparts), we can say that, in fact, they were the foundation of the development that would later be known as ‘modern landscaping style’.

The works of Forestier¹²⁷, a follower of Alphand, offered great contributions. When he published *Grandes villes et systèmes de parcs* in 1906, he intended to expand the green areas system to the metropolitan space, so worried was he with the

¹²⁶ The author elucidated very well that use-value and exchange-value are notions that only make sense if their dialectic movement is understood.

¹²⁷ Jean-Claude-Nicolas Forestier, Inspecteur des Eaux et Forêts and also Conservateur des Promenades des Paris, worked with Alphand when he was reaching the end of his long career in the Parisian public agencies. He published *Grandes villes et systèmes des parcs*, available since 1906.

rapid expansion of cities in general and of Paris in particular. Witnessing the progressive merging of urban agglomerates around Paris, Forestier claimed that they would form clusters of human and co-operative dwellings with Paris (regardless of whether they were administratively distinct or not), taking advantage of the same privileges and subject to the same inconveniences, sharing the same hygienic conditions and salubrity and subject to the same risks of physical and moral contagion”.¹²⁸ Forestier visited several European, American and Australian cities and based on the knowledge he acquired, he formulated his “park system”¹²⁹, which became a reference for modernist urban planners.

¹²⁸ FORESTIER, Jean Claude Nicolas. *Grandes Villes et Systemes de Parcs*. Paris: Norma Editions, 1997. p. 50-52.

¹²⁹ The system proposed by Forestier would comprise the following elements:

Great reserves and landscape – “They are made according to the conditions of the place, its surface is variable and depends on the circumstances and the configuration of the spots to be preserved. They differ from the parks because they are not submitted to the same treatment or maintenance; they are left in their natural state: woods, meadows, rivers and rocks (...). They are almost always in distant places”.

Suburban parks – “They serve the same purpose of the great reserves, but instead of being designed by natural circumstances, they must be determined by the needs of the city and regularly distributed. They are a refuge to the citizens who, in the tranquility of the natural scenery, come to forget the restlessness of business, the noise and the annoying movement in the streets. No shops, no marketing, no railways or tramways; just trees, vast lawns, the least possible number of streets, constructions or useless ornaments”.

Great urban parks – “They are the place to stroll (...), they provide the cities with beauty as well as hygiene. They should not be pure ornament, though; it is indispensable that they have extensive lawns, shade for the hot days and the off hours. And the youth must find there several areas for games, more extensive than the ones in small parks that will be dealt with later on. Their extension vary: it may be from 8 to 10 ha as the Monceau Park, from 30 to 40 ha like the future Champ-des-Mars, the Tuilleries, or from 80 to 100 ha as the Battersea Park (80 ha) in London; it may reach 700 or 800 ha, as the Prater in Vienna (698 ha), the Bois de Boulogne (800 ha)”.

Small parks (neighbourhood parks) – “They may be purely ornamental (...) or they may be areas for games and exercising (...), like Southwarth Park in London and the numerous spaces for games (playgrounds) spread all over the place in the American cities. It is not inopportune to provide the spaces reserved for games with extensive planted areas (...). However, the main worry should be to distribute them widely and to the reach of all. If every family may be able to find one of the recreation areas for children in less than 1,000 meters, the game areas must not demand more than a 1,500 or 2,000 meter walk”.

Recreation areas – “The small lots for games and recreation are areas that range from 2,000 to 3,000 m² to 1 or 2 ha and they must be numerous (...) especially in the densely-populated neighborhoods where the children usually have only/but the streets to play. A bush strip isolates them from the streets and the surrounding area; some trees give them their shades. If the lot allows, one part could become a free yard, with flowers if necessary. The other part, separated from the first by a fence, is provided with equipment for calisthenics and games, swings, fixed bars (...), and also a sandbox (...). This part is also divided into two, one for the boys from 6 to 14 years of age and the other to the girls of the same age and younger children (...)”. FORESTIER, Jean Claude Nicolas, 1997.

As Kliass explained, the Parisian park model lasted until the beginning of the 20th century. It inspired practically all the parks of that period, including the ones created in South America, most of them by European landscape designers, particularly in Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil. Its evolution is closely related to the creation of garden-cities, a process initiated in England by names like Patrick Geddes, Barry Parker and Raymond Unwin, with repercussion all over the world. According to Kliass, the most effective changes in park design began to appear right after World War I. In Europe, specially in Germany, Austria and the Netherlands, and also in the USA after the New Deal, there was an eruption of urbanization models based on an ideology of socialization that attributed enormous importance to parks and to a new language of the arts in general, particularly architecture: Art Deco. Examples of the new model are the Spanish parks – Montjuic, in Barcelona, and Parque Maria Luiza, in Seville – created by Forestier.¹³⁰

2.4. FROM THE INDUSTRIAL TO THE CONTEMPORARY CITY

Over the last thirty years, there have been great changes in the quality of urban life. The new moment of capitalist accumulation has brought with it socio-spatial transformations that, in some aspects, collided with the Fordist model of industrial productivity.

Technological improvements and the reduction of transportation and communication costs allowed industry, which was traditionally limited by local restrictions on raw material, resources and markets, to become much more independent.

The possibility of broadcasting project and production instructions by satellite all over the world and the containerisation allowed by cargo aircrafts diffused industrial production to areas previously considered “underdeveloped” by the big international manufacturers. The process led to the disarrangement of the organization

¹³⁰ KLIASS, Rosa Grena. *Parques urbanos de São Paulo e sua evolução na cidade*. São Paulo: PINI, 1933. p.23-24.

of labour and a huge regression in the power of labour unions that had been acquired during the Fordist regime. Although the process stimulated the emergence of new sectors of production, the service sector was the one that enjoyed the greatest increased.

The globalization of the economy – founded on the flexibility of labour processes, labour markets, products and consuming patterns – led to the emergence of a world financial market.

Computers and electronic communication enabled the development of a unique money and credit market. International coordination of financial flows established an economic system with hugely enhanced powers and, from it, emerged new forms of providing financial services, new markets and taxes on commercial, technological and organizational innovation.

This capitalist dynamics, therefore, came to be related to a new moment in the representation of time-space. The acceleration of production turnover and the reduction of spatial barriers implied a radicalization of the time-space experience in industrial cities.

Harvey shows that the new experiences, both volatile and ephemeral, accentuated the fragmentation of perception typical of industrial capitalism, and altered the established systems of public values. At the same time new forms of communication were giving visibility to personal opinions and allowing dispersed and incoherent feelings of 'rupture with the consensus', advertising acquired a more integrative role in cultural practices. With the enhanced individualism of the industrial era and the volatilization of habits of consumption, taste and public opinion began being manipulated by an elaborate system of signs. The reduction of spatial barriers increased the importance of local material resources. Quality airports, telecommunication systems, communication networks, financial, commercial and legal services and infrastructure became determining attributes that allowed cities to acquire an empowered position in the hierarchy of the global urban system. Local differences in the capacity for accomplishment, in capital for associations, in technical and scientific knowledge and social attitude, as well as in local networks of influence and power and in the accumulation strategies of local ruling elites were also deeply related to the logic of the urban development of cities that aspired to full world status.

Active production in areas with special qualities became an important trump in spatial competition among localities, cities, regions and nations¹³¹.

According to Jencks¹³², by overcoming the limits of time and space of the Fordist era, the new forms of communication established an international language and, at the same time, highlighted the differentiation between cities, valuing the social particularities of each place. The advanced communication and transportation technologies produced a form of social interaction that made the fragmentation explicit and led dispersed, decentralized and disconnected urban forms to become much more technologically feasible than before. The flexibilization of time-space limits, as mentioned, but also new technologies, materials and the organization of a world financial market allowed the diversification of the architectural and urban planning practices.

The great modernist plans of the Fordist era were no longer determinant in the urban interventions of the last decades of the 20th century. While strategic planning superseded the ideal of a *comprehensive plan*, an atmosphere of great international competitions and the injection of capital transformed the revitalization plans of Berlin, Barcelona and Paris, among others, into paradigms of postmodernity.

The contradictions of the post-welfare capitalist city are usually represented by the polarization of wealth and poverty in the urban environment. Regarding the constitution of spaces for social acquaintanceship, it's worth remembering some subtleties of this process. From the Docklands to the Millennium works, investments in the requalification of London were unable to avoid an impression of decadence in its parks in the late 20th century. Besides the problem of the lack of coherence in administrative actions, the dramatic reductions of investment in public green areas, which had begun in the 1980s, did not go unpunished.

To face these problems, the Commission for Architecture and Built Environment created the research agency *Cabe Space* in 2003, with the aim of understanding successful international experiences in the management of public parks¹³³. The objects of this research were cities with high-quality green areas that had

¹³¹ HARVEY, David. *Condição pós-moderna*. São Paulo: Loyola, 1993.

¹³² JENCKS, Charles. *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture*. 4th ed. New York: Rizzoli, 1984.

¹³³ CABE Space. *Is the grass green...? Learning from international innovations in urban green space management*. London: Bartlett School of Planning, May 2003.

presented administrative innovations. By analysing administrative strategies in the period of flexible accumulation, the investigator drafted a panoramic report of the network of today's urban parks. Some cases are emblematic.

With Japan's economic recession in the early 1990s, the historical interest to increase the quantity of public green areas in Tokyo was dislocated. Ideologically, the central objective became exploiting the attributes of existing and to-be-created spaces in order to turn them into better quality areas for the society. This reflected an intention to transform parks into public spaces adapted to diverse social needs. The revision of the 1956 'Urban Park Act' allowed NGOs engaged in community participation to get involved in the management of those spaces and created mechanisms to allow the private sector to invest in green areas. As a result, nowadays, the government only oversees directly a small portion of Tokyo's parks. The others are managed by external organisations hired for the task. Social actions are regulated by the 2000 Green Space Plan, which established guidelines for as far-off as 2015.

In Minneapolis, USA, the entire network of public green areas belongs to and is managed by the Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board (MPRB), a coalition of NGOs that has become reference for new administrative concepts. Previously, there was no comprehensive planning to marshal resources and provide a vision for the future of the city's green spaces. In addition to the admission fees charged to enter the parks, the MPRB receives a tax from urban real estate, granted by the local government (which doesn't intermediate in its collection). The tax rates are voted by the local city council. In 2003, there was a tendency to increase the number of park users and decrease the taxes.

The case of Paris is particular. Although the way the city manages and funds its green areas is considered conservative, the logic of park creation in the French capital has been a paradigm of postmodernity since the 1980s. In the atmosphere of international concourses, the great parks – La Vilette, Bercy, Citroen – became part of ambitious projects of urban requalification that intended to create a new, contemporary image of Paris, capable of reshaping its worldwide status as a cultural capital.

From the 1990s on, with the flexibilization of building restrictions, urban operations, impregnated by public place ideologies, became a very attractive business for the private sector and acted as a display window of the new architecture.

If the new architecture was free to resort to multiple stylistic references from the past, urban requalification remained attached to a well-known ideal of public life in order to promote the capitalist expansion in the post-welfare city. In this way, the French experience is paradigmatic.

Parks are important in urban intervention programs because they still work as instruments for the elitization of space and the valorization of land. The novelty, now, is that while promoting the city's local image, they are also a powerful thrust in the spatial competition among cities anxious to attain a good position in the hierarchy of the global urban system.

3. Theoretical-methodological framework

As an exploration São Paulo's public parks, this research implied, first and foremost, taking on a theoretical-methodological position on the meaning of "urban". With this in mind, we revised the main theoretical currents that investigated the urban issue in the 20th century. This reading was done in such a way as to favour, from the 1960s onward, the Marxian discussions of the subject, inasmuch as the dialectic socio-spatial paradigm was chosen as the theoretical-methodological foundation for the development of the thesis.

Another fundamental challenge was evaluating in what measure classical knowledge on modern social life might serve as a reference for understanding public parks in São Paulo. For this, it was necessary to study the role of public parks in European cities as representative landmarks of a spatial order and of urban social life in the modern age. The aim of this study, organized by periods, was to review contents that might support subsequent theoretical assumptions in the discussion of modern public life in São Paulo.

By taking as objects of study the two most visited public parks in São Paulo, some explanations are called for to justify this methodological construction.

According to the set of problems proposed by the Lefebvre's socio-spatial dialectics, space, in our current capitalism mode, has acquired a unique position in the constitution of society, being simultaneously a product of social actions and the structure of these same actions. In Lefebvre's critical study, the history of accumulation is the history of the separation and mutual antagonism between 'appropriated space' and 'dominated space', even if the quintessential appropriated space – a real space of pleasure – remains impracticable within capitalism. Since the use of contemporary space retains the dialectical movement between appropriation and property, the 'appropriated space' persists only as a potentiality in contemporary capitalist space.

Therefore, a dialectic approach to the problem of contemporary public parks requires us to consider the role that parks play in the socio-spatial configuration. In the topic 'Le droit à la ville', from the homonymous work by Kofman and Lebas (1999:157-8), the authors present the lefebvrian discussion on the strange way by

which the right to enjoy nature entered social practice with the emergence of leisure. In the second chapter of *La révolution urbaine*, Lefebvre suggests that the problems related to urban green areas require deep analysis, since they are an essential part of what he calls the ‘critical phase’, i.e., the period of transformation of current society, still partially defined by an agrarian way of living, into an ‘urban society’, the society that results from complete urbanization. Our investigation intends to contribute to this theoretical requirement proposed by Lefebvre’s framework.

By ‘urban society’ we should understand the spatial and social constitution of public life – in which urban parks are present in one way or another. And it is within this theoretical framework – the spatial and social constitution of public life – that our research will seek to investigate the roles and potentials of public parks in São Paulo. Several reasons led to the choice of these two particular parks for our study.

Despite the fact that São Paulo has twenty-nine public green spaces classified as parks, just two of them aggregate roughly 80% of the city’s park users: the Ibirapuera and the Carmo parks. Whereas the third most popular park in São Paulo, Aclimação, receives no more than 6,000 people during summer weekends, Ibirapuera welcomes around 130,000 users and Carmo nearly 84,000 people.

Their areas are also vastly larger than the average São Paulo municipal park, which is around 80,000 m²: Ibirapuera comprises 1,548,000 m² and Carmo 1,500,000 m².

Ibirapuera was the only park implemented in São Paulo between the 1930s and the late 1960s. It is located in the southwest region, a traditionally rich urban area that is symbolically described as the ‘central area’ of the city. Its inauguration in 1954 marked the celebration of São Paulo’s 400th anniversary. The impressive architecture of Oscar Niemeyer has converted the park into a postcard of the city.

Carmo Park is located in the eastern periphery, a region predominantly inhabited by lower income people. It was inaugurated in 1976, in the lands of the old Carmo Farm (which formerly belonged to an influential family of São Paulo’s elite), when the peripheral expansion of the city was transforming the eastern districts into residential areas for the lower classes.

In order to reach the main goal of this investigation – namely, understanding the roles and potentialities of São Paulo’s public parks from the viewpoint of the socio-

spatial constitution of public life – our central hypothesis was established by considering the relationship between socio-cultural and spatial forces. It presupposes that the roles and potentialities of the parks are conditioned both by the socio-cultural forces that determine public urban life and by the complex processes of spatial segregation related to them.

In view of the investigations main goal, we have designed five secondary objectives in the construction of our methodological framework:

- To characterize, both socially and spatially, the various moments of São Paulo's public life.
- To understand the socio-spatial context of urban life at the time the parks were created.
- To analyze the representations involved in the “production” of the parks.
- To understand the uses of both parks since their inauguration.
- To analyze the various representations involved in the use of each park.

With regard to the first objective, it is important to keep in mind that the classical knowledge of modern social life can be used as reference to capture a sense of São Paulo's. However, we must emphasize the investigative effort to understand in what measure an urban dynamics existed that might have possibly created, reproduced and perhaps even disintegrated modern public life in the city. Because “modernity” in Brazil was instituted in its own time alongside other temporal aspects that were not its own. In other words, the Modern Age in Brazil did not have a cohesive constitution, but was structured as a link between fragments from other structures and situations.

In this sense, it is important to clarify that, methodologically, analogies between urban phenomena can only be established after a careful consideration of the timelines and geographies of each place's urban constitution.

The subsequent secondary objectives refer specifically to the Ibirapuera and Carmo parks, seen as inductors and reflectors of São Paulo's public life in various moments. The secondary objectives, defined as drivers of the investigation toward the main goal, assume that the path to understand the roles and potentialities of São Paulo's public parks is a critical analysis of their uses and representations – because,

in keeping with the theoretical methodological framework we adopted, representations (as interpretations of reality derived from actual experience and conceptual understanding)¹³⁴ are inherent in every contemporary socio-spatial constitution and, therefore, contribute both to preserve the status quo and to its eventual rupture. This means that capitalist power derives from the perpetuation of representations, inasmuch as these are responsible for leading ideologies¹³⁵ to a 'lived' experience. In this sense, representations may be false or genuine, since they are a blend of both: both ideological lies and true discernment are established from a 'lived' understanding.

For Lefebvre, today's life is no longer interpreted through symbols, figures or historical facts, but is produced with signs, images and, above all, representations – which, being reductionistic, extinguish conflicts and displace feelings. Thus, in contemporary society, the dislocation that arises from replacing the represented entities by their representation can be self-perpetuating.

The proposal of a critical analysis of representations is to explore the genealogy of such representations and reveal the displacements and dislocations that occur when the representation process is established. The aim is also to find the representations that might sustain what can be called 'awareness of the possible'.

By contributing to the reproducibility of social practices, representations become enmeshed in everyday life, and this corresponds to another fundamental notion of the critical theory in question.

The realm of everyday life gains life with competitive capitalism, as productive activities ceased to be regulated by the rhythms of nature and started to be measured

¹³⁴ According to Lefebvre's philosophy, representations are an interpretation of reality derived from actual experience and conceptual understanding. In effect, they refer to a mediation between the 'lived' and the 'conceived'. They are an abstraction, even if marked by a sensorial nature, rather than an intellectual disposition. Thus, a representation implies psycho-politico-social action because representations circulate around what support them: the institutions, the symbols and the archetypes.

¹³⁵ Originally, ideology meant 'study of ideas'. "The term ideology appears for the first time in 1801, in a book by Destutt de Tracy, *Éléments d'idéologie...*" CHAUÍ, M. de S. *O que é ideologia*. São Paulo: 1981. p. 22. According to Marx and Engels, ideology means illusion, false awareness, class lies, and must be overcome – which also means overcoming the capitalist mode of production. For them, "ideology is not a conscious subjective process, but an involuntary objective and subjective phenomenon produced by the individuals' objective conditions of social existence." CHAUÍ, M. de S. 1981. p. 78 .

by the social time of work. With the parcelling and specialization of the productive activities (resulting from the ongoing social division of labour), a dynamic process of social and spatial separation of work, family life and leisure took hold. Although work, family and leisure form a unity,¹³⁶ in the modern age the separation between the physical space and the space of sociability of these elements that make up people's everyday life led them to be lived and interpreted (i.e., represented) in a very fragmented manner.

If everyday life, on account of its representational reproduction, is precisely the means that enables the State to rise above society, the reality of public parks can hardly be apprehended by a fragmentary approach to their production or usage. This confirms the need for a method¹³⁷ that deals dialectically with public parks both as a spatial product and as a spatial structure to gear up a critical study on contemporary public parks. This method finds correspondence in the regressive-progressive method, developed by the same author, rendering studies founded on this theoretical framework feasible.

The 'Regressive-Progressive Method' was published in two articles in the *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie* in 1949 and 1953. Lefebvre developed this method when, in his inquiries into urban sociology, he faced the methodological problem of how to deal with contradictions that originated as he confronted practices and representations from different historical moments. Later on, the method became essential for reflecting upon socio-spatial problems, because it stressed Lefebvre's assertion that capitalistic social relations are established by the materialization of temporal contradictions in the socio-spatial praxis. This method made it intrinsically possible to approach contemporary space dialectically. When investigating the genesis of (described) practices and representations, the method addresses the various times that bear upon present reality, which is to say that it addresses the various instigators of contemporary space. Space, however, is not an outcome of these producers alone. When it facilitates the reproducibility of practices and representations, space may

¹³⁶ "Work, leisure, family life and private life form a whole, which can be called a 'global structure' or a 'totality' [...] Through this global structure, a historically real image of man and mankind can be restored at a certain moment of its development, at a certain stage of alienation and nonalienation." LEFEBVRE, Henri. *Critique de la vie Quotidienne I* – Introduction. Paris: L'Arche Editeur, 1958, p. 50-51.

¹³⁷ The method is organized in topic 'The regressive-progressive method'.

function as a reproducer and even as an instigator of reality. Thus, the method establishes space both as a product and as a structure for social relations.

Seeing the public park as a product means approaching the practical and representational reproduction that occur on the level of governmental action. On the other hand, seeing the public park as a structure means approaching the reproducibility of the practices and representations that occur on the level of the everyday life.

In both, the question of production and the existence of a social pact – public life –, established through and within an urban space, will be the background that enables us to analyse the roles and potentialities of São Paulo's public parks.

3.1. HYPOTHESIS

The roles and potentialities of the parks are conditioned both by the socio-cultural forces that determine the order of urban public life and by the fundamental processes of spatial segregation that mark the order of the urban geographical configuration related to those socio-cultural forces.

3.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

A. Concerning spatial production.

1. In what sense was the production of space related to the character of public life in the city of São Paulo?
2. How and why have the dominant concepts regarding the construction of parks changed in the course of São Paulo's spatial history?
3. Which reasons motivated the State to create Ibirapuera and Carmo parks, and what was the makeup of the public actions that effectively led to their creation?

4. What is the relationship between the practices that created Ibirapuera and Carmo parks and the practices that establish a spatial model for the city?

B. Concerning spatial usage.

1. How does the use of urban space characterize different moments in the public life of the city of São Paulo?
2. In what sense are the representations of Ibirapuera and Carmo parks connected to the dominant conceptions that motivated their creation?
3. What is the relationship between the changing practices that have defined the usage of Ibirapuera and Carmo parks since their inauguration and the changes in the socio-spatial configuration?
4. What are the contradictions between the functions of the two parks? What do they mean in terms of socio-spatial configuration?
5. What are the current and potential roles of the public parks within São Paulo's socio-spatial configuration?

3.3 THE REGRESSIVE-PROGRESSIVE METHOD

As previously explained, understanding the roles and potentialities of public parks requires both an approach to the production of each park and analyses of their uses and representations. Thus, the study of each park is presented in a particular chapter, where the production of Ibirapuera and Carmo Parks and the analysis of their uses and representations are conducted in an inseparable manner.

The regressive-progressive method is applied in the analysis of the uses and representations of each park and, basically, comprises three stages: the descriptive, the analytical-regressive and the historical-genetic.

According to Lefebvre, the descriptive stage of the method corresponds to the moment when relationships are treated horizontally, that is, when the time of the

relationships has not yet been identified.¹³⁸ The analytical-regressive stage takes on the vertical complexity of coexisting relationships, identifying them by age and date. Thus, what at first seemed simultaneous and contemporary is eventually seen as a remnant of a specific time.¹³⁹ Finally, the historical-genetic stage leads the researcher to rediscover a present time that is understood and explained. “In this regressive-progressive moment it is possible to discover that social contradictions are historical and cannot be reduced to a conflict of interests between different social categories”.¹⁴⁰

The descriptive stage requires systematic observation. Other research techniques, such as interviews, questionnaires or statistics, may also be used with caution. The analytical-regressive moment is the classification of what has been described, or the effort to accurately date all the described events. In the historical-genetic stage, the transformations of each dated event must be related to the entire structure in an attempt to give the descriptions a sense of unity.

When applied to public parks, the method involves the practices and representations of park users and strives to reach conclusions regarding the role of public parks in São Paulo’s socio-spatial reality. Methodologically, these conclusions can just as well be established by raising the contradictions between both parks – although, in order to overcome these contradictions, the descriptive and the analytical-regressive phases must be applied separately to each park, whereas the historical-genetic stage must deal simultaneously with both of them.

In our study, the descriptive stage that corresponds to the current uses of each park permeates the analytical-regressive stage because only in the development of the latter are the former’s static characters overcome. In this sense, the descriptive stage, presented statically, corresponds to an appendix of the analytical-regressive stage.

After a description of user practices in each park, the historical classification describing each park then advances to the aforementioned background of the investigation: understanding the State-instigated urban spatial processes and the usage leisure space in São Paulo. This ‘analytical-regressive’ examination of the practices and representations of the users of each park will help highlight contradictions that, to

¹³⁸MARTINS, José de Souza. As temporariedades da História na Dialética de Lefebvre. In: MARTINS, José de Souza (org.). *Henri Lefebvre e o retorno à dialética*. São Paulo: Hucitec, 1996. p.13-23.

¹³⁹ *Idem, Ibidem.* p.21

¹⁴⁰ *Idem, Ibidem.* p.22

finalize, will be simultaneously evaluated by a ‘historical-genetic’ comparison of their functions in São Paulo’s socio-spatial configuration.

3.3.1. The “descriptive” stage

A. Description of current practices within the park

Systematic observation is an indispensable means to study the interpersonal relations that permeate the various activities practiced within the park. Moreover, it allows us to describe the relationship between the various activities, the behaviour patterns that exist in the park and the ongoing everyday arrangement of time in the park.

Despite the fact that systematic observation is an essential technique that aids all these descriptions, other issues (such as the types of activities practiced, the behaviour of users or the daily time spent within the park) may only be noticed through interview with the users. Nevertheless, the issues revealed through interviews must be confirmed by observation in order to be incorporated in the description of the practices.

B. Description of historical practices and representations

As mentioned above, the aim of this description is organize the background to facilitate an analytical-regressive estimation of the practices and representations in both parks. The required information to make an accurate description of the historical transformations that marked the practices and representations in each park were obtained by secondary sources and interviews. The secondary sources, in this case, provided information through academic works, books, records of the Parks Department (Depave) and, above all, newspapers. In fact, a systematic compilation of news reports on the Ibirapuera and Carmo parks since their inauguration from the archives of the city’s main newspapers (*Folha de São Paulo* and *Estado de São Paulo*) are a rich source of knowledge on several aspects of usage and representations of those parks over decades.

C. Interviews to assess historical and current practices and representations of park users

Despite the fact that the main source to get information on the historical and current practices and representations of park users refers to the news reports, the interviews can be useful as well. The free, purposive sampling interviews, as a secondary source, can particularly contribute to check the veracity and situation of the practices and representations raised by the news reports. The study population in this case were people that, for whatever reason (working in the park administration, living nearby etc.), are regularly at the park for some time. A considerable quantity of statements had to be collected to cover every period since the inauguration of each park. Given that 'history' has different versions, it was important to confirm information given by one interviewee with statements of other interviewees.

The interview as a technique of research in a public park requires some considerations. The qualitative character of the research requires that the interview be conducted in a way that the people can open up and express themselves in their own terms and at their own pace. In this sense, the most convenient method is the semi-structured interview, which retains much of the relaxed character of unstructured interviewing but guides the conversation toward the "Research Questions" pursued in our investigation.

Seeing that formal elaboration of the questions is useful to allow the interviewer to introduce certain topics for the interviewee in a pleasant and clear way, a questionnaire was prepared. However, since the method refers to semi-structured interviews, the questionnaire must be applied in a very sensible manner. First, incorporating the subtexts of what the interviewee says is fundamental to reach the real meaning of the discourse and its contradictions. Second, the interviewer must be attentive to every emotional reaction of the interviewee in order to attain an in-depth understanding of any issue as soon as the interviewee is willing to spontaneously talk about it. Finally, to feel motivated to reflect upon the proposed topics, it is extremely important for the interviewee to feel that the interviewer is truly interested and curious about his/her particular point of view. In addition to the questionnaire, a standard form to establish the interviewees' profile was prepared. Unlike the questionnaire,

interviewees were not presented to the topics of this form, but the interviewer filled it out in the course of the interview.

3.3.2 The Analytical-Regressive Stage

After the description of practices and representations, the next stage of the regressive-progressive method is the analytical-regressive, when the described practices and representations are dated. The effort to situate the description historically implies uncovering the genealogy of the representations through the history of the practices. But of which practices? On one hand, the practices related to the production and usage of the park; on the other hand, the practices related to São Paulo's urban spatial process over the last century.

Dating the descriptions according to the history of the production and usage of each park requires gathering information from both primary and secondary sources. The main data was obtained in academic works, books, records of the Parks Department and, above all, newspapers. Secondary data was obtained from the aforementioned unstructured interviews describing the history of the practices inside the parks. This information, organized decade by decade, can be selectively contextualized in the urban socio-spatial constitution, allowing for an effective analysis of the practices and representations described in each park. But what path should this analysis follow?

A. Analysing practices

The effort to date practices allows us to discover which ones appeared in the context of which particular spatial urban transformation, and whether they were or were not connected to a new municipal public policy or a new park administration policy. Practices that emerged spontaneously may derive from different roots, such as tradition, consumption habits, violence etc. and their genesis must be also explored.

Recognizing the origins of a practice contributes to reveal the historical contradictions that will be fundamental for a later 'historical-genetic' explanation of reality.

B. Analysing representations

The attempt to establish a historical classification of the practices also helps to determine the historical roots of the representations. However, to understand the genealogy of a representation one must elucidate its historical permanence. As a result, exploring the genealogy of the representations means revealing the types of displacements and dislocations that occur when the representation process is established.

In order to understand these displacements and dislocations, it is essential to consider the psychological aspect of the representations: since representing is a prerequisite of social life, the representation process involves subjective ‘defence mechanisms’ of the construction of the ego (such as identification, projection, disarticulation, fantasy etc.). To recognize how the ‘defence mechanisms’ influence the development of both emblematic and particular representations is an essential task in understanding the motivations that drive the representation process.

Discerning the types of displacements and dislocations that occur when the representation process is established allows us to verify how and in which sense the representations of park users reveal or hide the veracity of the relationship between what is ‘lived’ in each park and the socio-spatial reality of the city. To reveal the ‘contextual roots’ of the subjective production of each representation, it is helpful for the investigation to spell out the ideologies, myths, traditions or religion convictions connected to the public use of park space. Furthermore, this allows us to choose between representations that do not mask the relationship between what is ‘lived’ (within each park) and the socio-spatial reality of the city – representations that will eventually reveal a potentiality or, in other words, an ‘awareness of the possible’.

3.3.3 The Historical-Genetic Stage

The last step of the analysis of the current usage of the parks is the historical-genetic stage, whereby the spatial-temporal classification of the descriptions of the park users’ practices and representations can be explained within a sense of unity.

This explanation has a conclusive character and absorbs the entire contextual and analytical knowledge that was gathered in our effort to elucidate the reality of São Paulo's public parks.

In this stage, the socio-spatial function of contradictory historical practices will finally be recognized and evaluated according to the socio-spatial meaning of the representations in both parks. The simultaneous assessment of these functions will establish the conclusions regarding the current and potential role that public parks play in the socio-spatial reality of São Paulo.

4. Spatial constitution and sociability: modern public life in São Paulo

The second chapter discussed the constitution of public spaces in European capitals, understood as representations of an urban spatial order and an urban social life.

The dialectical social-spatial approach to public space was founded on classic knowledge – a theoretical-typological paradigm – of modern social life. This genealogy, which dates back to the Renaissance in urban Europe, has created countless theoretical misunderstandings when used as a point of reference to understand the issue of public life in peripheral capitalism.

According to Martins, given the confusion between modernity and modern objects and signs, talking about modernity in the age of globalization has become something of a nervous tic for underdeveloped nations: “they speak more of modernity than they actually are.”¹⁴¹

The author asserts that a study of the Modern Age in Latin America must first of all acknowledge its own anomaly and inconclusiveness. He goes on to clarify that Modern Age in Latin America encompasses both popular culture – which has little or nothing of modern in itself – and fragments from other structures and situations inserted in real life through living and vital relations. He stresses that such Modern Age was instituted in its own time along with other temporal aspects that are not modern in its own.¹⁴²

In this context, understanding the social and spatial role of the two largest and most popular city parks of São Paulo becomes a challenge. First of all, there is a theoretical problem: Can the classical knowledge of modern social life be a reference to capture the sense of public life in a Brazilian city?

In view of the fact that, in Latin America, Modern Age did not have a cohesive constitution, but it has been structured itself as a link between traditions and modern

¹⁴¹ The author examines the specific forms of modernity in Latin American societies in general and in Brazilian society in particular, the latter being quite different in many aspects from the rest of Latin America. With this in mind, he establishes an ongoing dialogue with the ideas developed by Nestor García Canclini in “Culturas Híbridas (Estrategias para entrar y salir de la modernidad)”, Grijalbo: Mexico, 1990. In MARTINS, José de Souza. *A Sociabilidade do Homem Simples*. São Paulo: Hucitec, 2006, p.8.

¹⁴² *Idem, Ibidem*.

reproductions, another question emerge: has there been an urban dynamics that created, reproduced and perhaps even disintegrated modern public life in Brazilian capitals?

Firstly, to understand public life in São Paulo we must keep in mind that analogies between urban phenomena can only be established after a careful consideration of timelines and of the geography of the urban constitution in each place.

The following chapters are an attempt to establish a theoretical foundation of public life that enables us to analyse the chosen parks. Thus, the genealogic reconstitutions must be allowed to follow as many paths as necessary to reveal the incoherencies of a complex contextual background.

4.1. CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING PUBLIC LIFE IN THE BRAZILIAN URBAN SCENE

The morphological genesis of the population nuclei in Portuguese America has engendered confused comparisons between Brazilian colonial towns and medieval European cities. The historiographic discussion on the contrasts between urban nuclei founded by Portuguese and Spaniards leads to the idea that colonial towns in Brazil were urban configurations similar to those in medieval Europe and different from the ones founded by the Crown of Castille.

As a matter of fact, the Portuguese Jesuits used a strategy that was to become the trademark of Spaniard colonisers in the American continent, namely, the strict regulation of the urban nuclei in order to keep them under control. However, while the morphological structure of Spanish colonial towns usually implied a regular grid pattern built according to pre-elaborated drawings, a geometric outline was never a precondition of the morphological structure of primitive Brazilian colonial towns.¹⁴³

Nevertheless, the foundation of urban nuclei was always a means of colonial domination in Latin America. The Portuguese Jesuits, when founding their

¹⁴³ MACEDO Silvio Soares & ROBBOA, Fabio. *Praças Brasileiras. Public Squares in Brazil*. 2 ed. São Paulo: Edusp: Imprensa Oficial do Estado de São Paulo, 2003. p. 20.

catechistical colonies, first of all established the location of churches and religious monasteries and of the streets connecting them. In so doing, they created landmarks from which the urban nucleus would naturally expand.

Despite the trend of 18th century spatial configuration to build straight-line streets, the standards for the morphological constitution of Brazilian colonial towns were more similar to the medieval formation, with crooked, narrow streets converging to a central parvis.¹⁴⁴

Such topical morphological similarity, however, did not lead Brazilian colonial villages to resemble the urban constitutions developed in medieval Europe.

Very specific landscape conditions in Europe led to the rise of cities in the Middle Ages and the remains of Roman towns, of castles and monasteries became the basis for the formation of villages. In other words, there was a generation of morphological spatial standards in medieval Europe that never existed in America. On the other hand, there was the creation of other urban morphologies as far as the colonisers' targets were concerned according to the local environment conditions.

Nevertheless, a central issue differentiates the medieval cities from those founded in Portuguese America: despite the fact there were places of meeting and exchange in the colonial urban space, during the Brazilian colonial period the market would never occupy the centrality of urban life as it happens in the context of European medieval urbanity.

The colonial production structure included slave labour and exploitation cycles; it did not allow the formation of a social order connected to urban work.

According to Sergio B. de Holanda, the only true citizens of the colonies were the landowners. They lived in their own farms, would only bring their families to town on festive occasions and solemnities, and ruled over the colony by controlling the municipal councils. The author claims that the urban-rural relationships typical of the Brazilian colonial period were completely different from their counterparts in medieval Europe.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴ According to the classification established by Paul Zucker (1959) for European squares. See ZUCKER, Paul. *Town and Square – From the Agora to the Village Green*. N. York & London: Columbia University Press, 1966. p.75-80.

¹⁴⁵ HOLANDA, Sérgio Buarque de. *Raízes do Brasil*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2006.

The absolute domination of urban life by a rural patrimonial system meant that the colonial cities were kept as political/administrative centres far removed from the mercantile urban order. While farms operated as self-sufficient autarchies that had their eyes set on export markets, the role of the plantation lords in the global trade circuit was not that of commercial agents, but of mere suppliers of raw materials.¹⁴⁶

We must bear in mind that these rural patricians took the backseat when it came to marketing their products due to the political and social-economic context imposed by colonial statutes. The capital potential of large crops would only become clearer and clearer in 1808, with the arrival of the Portuguese Royal family in Rio de Janeiro as a result of the Napoleonic expansion.

For Brazil, becoming the United Kingdom of Portugal meant the possibility of creating a national society. The organisation of a national bureaucratic and administrative structure (as well as the end of Portugal's monopoly of trade with the opening of the Brazilian ports to British products) cleared the path towards independence – the political milestone needed to create a national State.

Basically, two paradigms dominate the debate on the constitution of the State and of a national society in Brazil: the one developed by Faoro in *Os donos do poder*¹⁴⁷ and the one by Florestan Fernandes in *A revolução burguesa no Brasil*.¹⁴⁸

For Faoro, the creation of the State preceded the creation of society because the national State derived from the complete transposition of the landowning-oriented Portuguese State to Brazil. The methods of domination left in place by the colonisers did not become less useful with the political reforms after the independence and after the creation of the Republic. On the contrary, the bureaucratic establishment and the patrimonial social organization inherited from Portugal gave rise to the Brazilian political patronage.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ HOLANDA, Sérgio Buarque de. 2006.

¹⁴⁷ FAORO, Raymundo. *Os donos do poder: formação do patronato político brasileiro*. São Paulo: Editora Globo, 1987.

¹⁴⁸ FERNANDES, Florestan. *A revolução burguesa no Brasil: ensaio de interpretação sociológica*. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar Editores, 1976.

¹⁴⁹ FAORO, Raymundo. 1987.

Since a precondition for patrimonial domination is the inability to dissociate the public and private spheres, Faoro argues that the Brazilian State has still not faced the challenges of constituting a modern, authentically liberal State.¹⁵⁰

Florestan Fernandes claims that Brazil built a national State during the process of consolidating modern competitive capitalism by means of two revolutions: the revolution of independence and the revolution of the bourgeoisie, both marked by paradoxical social powers.¹⁵¹

Brazil's independence was not a social movement, that is, there was no popular participation whatsoever in the political manoeuvres through which the heir to the Portuguese throne became the Brazilian emperor. Nonetheless, Fernandes affirms that the independence may be considered as a revolution because it was both a historical milestone that ended the colonial era in Brazil and a reference point for the construction of national society.¹⁵²

The independence made it possible for the revolution of the bourgeoisie to take place, despite the fact that the latter brought neither dramatic nor heroic ruptures. On the contrary, it made it possible for the new political structure to foster the expansion of a competitive social order, as the aftermath of the new rural-urban relations derived from the so-called coffee cycle of 1860 onwards, when the slavery system fell into an irreversible crisis and both coffee growers and immigrants began playing a larger role in the urban environment.¹⁵³

Thus, the forms of economic, social and State power of the new organization were created through an ambivalent process marked, on one hand, by the traditional land gentry's mentality typical of colonial power relationships and, on the other, by the incorporation of the liberal ideal. As Florestan puts it, if the urgency of organizing a national State peaked at a time when the country was about to establish a national society, this same State came to be seen as an entity that could be manipulated by the

¹⁵⁰ FAORO, Raymundo. 1987.

¹⁵¹ FERNANDES, Florestan. 1976.

¹⁵² *Idem, Ibidem.*

¹⁵³ *Idem, Ibidem.*

interests of the native elite, which was bourgeoisifying and needed to adapt itself to the 'political philosophy of liberalism'.¹⁵⁴

This portrait allows us to assume that, even if the constitutive process of the bourgeoisie implied a free pass to obtain control of the State, the bourgeois revolution in Brazil still faced a massive challenge, namely, to establish as quickly as possible a social dynamics capable of promoting the surge of a true national bourgeoisie. In other words, the process through which the bourgeois revolution occurred in Brazil required setting up the boundaries of the public (i.e., bourgeois) sphere.

At first, the public sphere in Brazil was not a place for the legitimacy of the bourgeoisie; it was quite a departure from the classic paradigm and was used as a means of distinction for the emerging urban elite at the core of a society still being shaped.

With a view to establishing its social identity, this elite would begin to engender representations of itself by creating communication channels and spaces for social interaction among groups that saw themselves as dominant, albeit with a different code from that of traditional family or patronizing relationships.

After the opening of Brazilian ports, towns started to become *loci* of financial and commercial expansion, as well as the background for the assertion of groups to whom codes of behaviour were beginning to serve as an important way to achieve social distinction.

Because the independence of Brazil was a successful enterprise and preceded a monarchy, the urban elite initially incorporated the civilized manners dictated by the royal Portuguese family in Rio de Janeiro (the only case in which a European court established itself in America).

Rio de Janeiro became a cosmopolitan Capital city with a busy agenda, including parties and ceremonials, and a kind of social template was disseminated to the urban centres of the various regions where the native elite was trying to establish its identity not only by reproducing the manners of the Portuguese court but also by prolifically purchasing titles of nobility readily sold by that court.

¹⁵⁴ FERNANDES, Florestan. 1976.

Alongside with the habits of the Portuguese court, the public sphere that had begun to shape up was strongly influenced by lifestyles of the European bourgeoisie, publicized mainly through the French literature.

The expansion of a capitalist market in Rio de Janeiro (a port of entry for European products and for the export of the greater part of the country's coffee crop) led the unfolding bourgeoisie to adopt the modern signs of distinction between the public and private spheres.

However, in a slave-driven society, the liberal influence was not enough to make public life representative of the idea of common good. Slavery in Brazil was only abolished in 1888, despite the signs of an irreversible structural crisis in the system of production based on slavery from the mid-19th century on. Thus, the idealized bourgeois world of the elite began to reproduce itself as a distinct locus in the everyday life of the cities.

On the other hand, as Fernandes reminds us, as the expansion of the bourgeoisie was grounded on a liberal ideal, this same liberal ideal was not entirely inaccessible to some noteworthy figures among the mass of inhabitants of a city.¹⁵⁵ According to this author, during the period prior to the abolition of slavery and the generalisation of free labour, the services sphere suffered very deep changes in the urban environment, both at the level of the elite and at the level of the masses or workers:

This process was intensified in the regions where the economic bubble created by the coffee crop or by immigration (in some places, both phenomena added to the innovation). From these strata emerged the most typical and modern representatives of the bourgeois spirit – merchants, both retailers and wholesalers, civil servants, 'top hat and dinner jacket professionals', bankers, vacillating and oscillating entrepreneurs of the rising industries of consumer goods, the craftsmen who were self-employed and a whole amorphous mass of people searching for paid jobs or some opportunity 'to get rich.'

¹⁵⁵ FERNANDES, Florestan. 1976.

In these strata, identification with the moral world of the “agricultural aristocracy” was either superficial or based on personal loyalty or interest and did not intimidate the growing freedom of opinion and behaviour (...) In such a moral and material atmosphere, a vendor could climb the wealth ladder surely and quickly. He would gain respectability and influence through symbols of the “agricultural aristocracy”, turning himself into a ‘comendador’ – a honourific title – and a ‘good fellow.’¹⁵⁶

The surge of public works aimed at meeting the objective and subjective needs of the bourgeoisie occurred late in the Empire (1822-1889). The urban embellishment and improvement programmes continued for the entire period of the so-called First Republic (1889-1929), although the most aggressive investments were made in the first fifteen years prior to the abolition of slavery in 1888.

During this period, the national elite efficiently structured a public sphere in which the dominating life style was shaped by the creation of urban spaces meant for the use, interaction and representation of the bourgeoisie.

It was in this context of accelerated expansion of the role of towns and cities in the Brazilian socioeconomic framework that São Paulo would emerge as a privileged locus of the revolution of the bourgeoisie in Brazil.

4.2. THE EMERGENCE OF BOURGEOIS PUBLIC LIFE IN SÃO PAULO

4.2.1. The question of the “second foundation of São Paulo”

During the colonial era and for the most of the Empire, São Paulo was a modest city that, as hub of the communication system for the entire south and central areas of

¹⁵⁶ FERNANDES, Florestan. 1976. p. 28-29.

Brazil, was dubbed the ‘immemorial custom’ towards the interior. In 1872, it ranked tenth in terms of urban concentration. Geographically isolated from the coastal cities that kept close links with European life, São Paulo did not intensely live out the period of constitution of urban sociability founded on the routines of the Portuguese court.

The simultaneity of immigration, the formation of a bourgeois elite and the changes in the urban scenery was a contributing factor to the lifestyle and bourgeois values that abruptly emerged.

Referring to the radical transformation the city underwent on becoming a dynamic centre of the national revolution of the bourgeoisie, Simões de Paulo coined the expression “second foundation of São Paulo”, alluding to two currents of historiography interpretation: one focused on the alleged rupture represented by urbanization in the 1800’s, the other enlightened both the elements of the old and the new (while considering that both elements were vividly present in the urban relationships of the last quarter of the 19th century). Studies based on the second theoretical-methodological current assert that the bourgeois revolution in São Paulo was favoured by the status of colonization of the city itself and admits that the old social, cultural, economic and geographic relationships contributed to the character of the new urban dynamics.

This perspective corroborates Paul Singer’s classic explanation of the reasons that turned São Paulo into the country’s greatest industrial centre. Speaking about the conditions required to constitute a national industry, the author concludes that, between 1890 and 1900, the industry’s potential internal market was increasingly concentrated in the tax zone of São Paulo.¹⁵⁷

4.2.2. São Paulo’s economic role and urban development

In his “O fator geográfico na formação e no desenvolvimento da cidade de São Paulo” (The geographical factor in the formation and development of the city of São Paulo),

¹⁵⁷ SINGER, Paul. *Desenvolvimento econômico e evolução urbana*. São Paulo: Nacional, 1968.

Prado Jr. analyses for the first time São Paulo's economic role in connection to its geography.¹⁵⁸

In the period that encompasses both the Colony and the Empire, São Paulo accumulated the roles of access articulator, trading post, financial centre and nucleus of the incipient national industry.

How these diverse roles intermingled or went through changes has been the object of several theoretical analyses mentioned in Prado's pioneer study, which established the principle that the geography of the São Paulo highlands enabled the city to become a strategic place since the onset of the colonisation process.¹⁵⁹

Prado Jr. shows that the area of the Brazilian coast that would become part of the Captaincy [first administrative division of Brazil] of São Paulo included several physical advantages that met the needs of the Portuguese climbing the Serra do Mar mountain range and advancing into the hinterland in search of minerals or a shortcut to the Indies.¹⁶⁰

Among all the natural landscapes that lead up the mountain range, São Vicente was not only known to the native people but was also their favourite one. Many European adventurers who lived there had already worked their way through this path. It was a steep path that led to a vast natural clearing, with a plain level that was easy to walk through, in the midst of a tropical forest that offered natural advantages to human settlement. Thus, the physical nature of this plateau, called Campos de

¹⁵⁸ PRADO JR., Caio. *A Cidade de São Paulo: Geografia e História*. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1983. p.7-37.

¹⁵⁹ The principle asserted by Prado Jr. that the geography of the highlands turned São Paulo into a strategic place was confirmed by countless history researches. Theodoro and Ruiz showed that the strategic importance of the region made São Paulo an important focal point of the Treaty of Madrid in 1750, which attempted to settle the conflicting interests of Portugal and Spain. The authors refer to the map of "Meridional America" by M. Green, published in London by order of the British Parliament in 1763. Comparing the territorial ambitions of the Spaniards and the Portuguese at the time of the Treaty, the map highlights São Paulo as the actual point of interest and confrontation of both crowns. See THEODORO, Janice & RUIZ Rafael. São Paulo, de vila a cidade: a fundação, o poder público e a vida política. In: *História da cidade de São Paulo. A cidade colonial*. 1554-1822. São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 2004. p. 85.

¹⁶⁰ Along the Brazilian coast there is a chain of mountains called Serra do Mar which splits the country's territory in two: the coastal region almost at sea level and the higher countryside. From Bahia to Rio de Janeiro, the distance between the sea to the mountains is quite large, but in the state of São Paulo this distance is quite reduced, with less than 15 kilometres between the ocean and the mountains. See PRADO JR. Caio. 1983. p. 9-10.

Piratininga (Fields of Piratininga) by the native people, made it a natural demographic condenser that sheltered numerous Brazilian native tribes.¹⁶¹

It was not by chance that the Portuguese founded Brazil's first village, named São Vicente, at that point of the coast in 1532. There already existed an ancient port, where the Portuguese and the Spaniards who inhabit the region before the arrival of the first official colonising expedition had developed a trade centre by enslaving the native people.¹⁶²

In 1550, the colonisers established a village at the place where the “way to the ocean” (or “Caminho do Mar”) ended in the Piratininga Fields, and named it Santo André da Borda do Campo (“Saint Andrew of the edge of the field”). In 1554, in a privileged site of the Piratininga plateau, the Jesuits founded a school and the village of São Paulo. The geographical feature of the place was decisive for the village of São Paulo to become the premier regional town. São Paulo was founded atop a 25-metre high hill, reachable from one side only. The steep hillsides were a natural defence against eventual attacks by the natives, a much-desired feature then. A further favoured feature was the natural hydrographic system. Although the rivers were not quite navigable, they were the most viable and popular means of communication during the colonisation, as well as a crucial source of feedstock with plentiful fish.¹⁶³

However, there was more to this site than hillsides and streams: its very altitude (760 metres above sea level) made it both a meeting point and a point of access to several destinations. Furthermore, the climate was adequate to raise European cattle and to plant legumes, vegetables, fruits and flowers brought from Portugal. So, the geographical characteristics of the place – its waterways, topography and climate – turned São Paulo into a communication centre for the vast area of Brazil's centre-south mainland.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ PRADO JR. Caio. 1983. p. 9-10.

¹⁶² Not only the São Vicente region but also the other ports further south were inhabited by men who had most probably arrived on clandestine ships looking for riches in the New World.

¹⁶³ PRADO JR. Caio. 1983. p. 15-17.

¹⁶⁴ *Idem, Ibidem.*

Since the beginning of the colonisation, the village of São Paulo was the point of departure for explorers¹⁶⁵ who organised expeditions to enter the wilder and drier lands, moved by the desire to find the El Dorado¹⁶⁶ or by the intention to capture natives and trade them as slaves.¹⁶⁷

Later, during the mining cycle, São Paulo's agriculture was responsible for providing food to the population that was migrating to the mines and for supplying the markets of the newly occupied regions.¹⁶⁸

São Paulo's agricultural production did not engender an agricultural aristocracy comparable to the Northeast's large landowners, whose lifestyle was similar to that of the Portuguese nobility due to the wealth generated by sugar exports.

From 1765 onward, with the exhaustion of the mining cycle and the overexploitation of the native workforce (which, at this point, was being replaced by African slaves), São Paulo slowly became part of the Atlantic trade, with a small production of sugar in some towns by the coast (São Sebastião and Ubatuba) and in the countryside (Campinas and Itu).

¹⁶⁵ At the end of the 17th century, explorers from São Paulo found gold in the state of Minas Gerais and the mining cycle started in Brazil. In 1718 and in 1725, mining areas were discovered in Cuiabá and in Goiás, respectively. In 1734, another expedition that had departed from São Paulo found mines in the region known as Mato Grosso, north of Cuiabá, in the vicinities of the present-day Rondônia state. See MESGRAVIS, Laima. De bandeirante a fazendeiro: Aspectos da vida social e econômica em São Paulo colonial. In: *História da cidade de São Paulo. A cidade colonial 1554-1822*. São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 2004. p. 115-144.

¹⁶⁶ English historian Charles R. Boxer, who studied the Portuguese empire, sees this movement of São Paulo inhabitants looking for the El Dorado as a mirage and the first gold rush in history. The same would take place in mid-19th century Australia and later in Alaska. In Brazil, the phenomenon, albeit on a smaller scale, recurred in the 1970s, in Serra Pelada, state of Pará. See BOXER, Charles R. *A idade do ouro no Brasil. Dores de crescimento de uma sociedade colonial*. São Paulo: Nacional, 1963. p. 58.

¹⁶⁷ Although the Jesuits fought slavery and the trade of native people, to the point of seeking support from the royal authorities and even the Pope, local officials systematically ignored such restrictions. Control over the fate of the Indians was the result of political and legal battles that lasted more than a century and was at the root of clashes not only between the settlers, the Jesuits and the Crown, but also between settlers and settlers and Jesuits and Jesuits. The expulsion and restoration of the Jesuits between 1640 and 1653, the wars between family factions and the tensions between the loyal vassals of São Paulo and of the Crown are episodes that erupted in the dispute for control over the Indians. See MONTEIRO, John M. Dos campos de Piratininga ao Morro da Saudade: a presença indígena na história de São Paulo. In: *História da cidade de São Paulo. A cidade colonial 1554-1822*. São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 2004. p. 43.

¹⁶⁸ São Paulo's agriculture was not export-driven. This led to a greater diversification of crops in the highlands and benefited the population of São Paulo with richer and more varied nourishment than the coastal towns in the Northeast, where almost all agricultural efforts were concentrated on sugar cane crops. See MESGRAVIS, Laima. 2004. p. 125.

The role of São Paulo as a trading post gains a new sense at this time, when the management reforms by the Marquis of Pombal in Portugal tried to revitalise agricultural exploitation in the Colony. The regional leadership of São Paulo cannot be due only to the fact that its physical features make it a natural hub to access various destinations in Brazil.

São Paulo's development was polynuclear and discontinuous, being a modest urban centre whose local political power nevertheless reached afar. Although the central nucleus of the city followed the same morphological pattern of the primitive constitution of Brazilian colonial cities, spontaneously expanding from the downtown Jesuit College, the geography of its central hills, surrounded by rivers and marshes, did not allow a continuous expansion from the centre on.

The Jesuits, in their intense catechising efforts in the highlands, chose mostly desolate places to build Indian settlements and erect chapels. Portuguese and Spanish¹⁶⁹ colonisers gradually joined these archipelagos of religious nuclei for Indians, several of which were established in a hub-and-spoke fashion in the jurisdiction of São Paulo.¹⁷⁰

The geographical isolation of São Paulo propitiated the intensification of its strength as a local power, while its social-spatial dynamics was adequate to the expansion of its political power.

The Municipal Council¹⁷¹ of the village of São Paulo was responsible for reinforcing the uses and habits of a sparse rural development. This meant that the

¹⁶⁹ Geographical isolation allowed a large number of Spaniards to remain in São Paulo, where their political presence finds no parallel in the history of Portuguese colonisation. The common history of Portuguese, Spaniards and native Brazilians and their children in the highlands was a unique process in the colonization of Latin America. Politics in the highlands was basically divided in two clans: the Garcias (later to be known as Pires), that formed the Portuguese party, and the Camargos, whose predominant blood was Castilian. See HOLANDA, Sérgio Buarque. *História Geral da Civilização Brasileira*. São Paulo: Difel, 1960. p.10.

¹⁷⁰ Marcílio explains that, beginning with the review of the city's boundaries in 1769, several parishes were separated from the city of São Paulo. The chapels that remained under the old jurisdiction were: Penha, São Miguel, Nossa Senhora do Ó, Santa Ifigênia, Brás and Santana. See MARCILIO, Maria Luiza. A população paulistana ao longo dos 450 anos da cidade. In: *História da cidade de São Paulo. A cidade colonial 1554-1822*. São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 2004. p. 252.

¹⁷¹ The members of the council were commonly called 'good men'. A 'good man' was certainly a land lord who would live in the shadow of the nobility and could not own a shop or perform manual labour. He should be of Portuguese or Spanish descent, but it was acceptable if he or his wife were related to Brazilian natives by blood. On the other hand, it was acceptable for them to have any African or Jewish blood five generations back. See MEGRAVIS, Laima, 2004. p. 126.

various problems of political life were not solved by previous compulsory law, but by the very power of facts and customs, that is, by the very source of natural right.¹⁷²

In the last quarter of the 18th century, the São Paulo's Municipal Council had several obligations, including the provision of investments for public works. With the expansion of agriculture and of inter-regional trading that fuelled the development of countless towns in the interior of the Captaincy of São Paulo, the city of São Paulo began to collect taxes from the entire Captaincy and eventually became the capital of the state of São Paulo. The building sector grew both in the capital and in the interior, propelling trade in São Paulo and generating new areas of wealth.¹⁷³

Thus, São Paulo became the main regional trading post due to a geo-political context that was still in force when coffee plantations took over the lands in the west of the state. This reinforced the role of the São Paulo as a *gateway* not only for coffee crops but also for the export and import of goods, as a banking and business centre and as a residential site for the landowners whose duties were constantly increasing.

The opening of the Santos-Jundiaí railway in 1868 would be a decisive factor in expanding São Paulo's market share in the international coffee market. As Santos replaced Rio de Janeiro as the preferred export and trading port for the domestic coffee production, capital markets in the city of São Paulo benefited from the enhanced international trading.

Moreover, if the social-spatial conditions that made it possible for São Paulo to become a financial hub in the late 19th century were managed during the colonial period, the advantages of becoming the capital derived from the character of the local bourgeois revolution, one that could not have happened without ruptures.

As shown previously, the bourgeois revolution in Brazil, unlike the classic case, was not a path through which the bourgeoisie attained power and became a legitimate social class. Instead, this revolution developed as the domestic bourgeoisie was forming – when, alongside the expansion of competitive capitalism, the social, economic and political arrangements of the colonial system began to unravel.

¹⁷² THEODORO, Janice & RUIZ, Rafael. 2004. p. 113.

¹⁷³ REIS FILHO, Nestor Goulart. *São Paulo: vila, cidade, metrópole*. São Paulo: Takano, 2004 .

According to Fernandes, the actual crisis of the old system occurred in the late 19th century, when the slave-driven production system had become a decadent and doomed structure. The author says that the leading players in Brazil's bourgeois revolution in Brazil were the coffee growers and the immigrants, who helped the country make a break with the past and create new economic and sociocultural trends. If rural landlords of the various regions were compelled, at some moment, to bourgeoisify, a segment of coffee farmers from the west of São Paulo had the mission of dissociating their farms and the wealth they produced from the seigniorial system. The farmers introduced capitalist agriculture in Brazil, an export-driven production system that employed free labour. They modernised their farms, improved agricultural and production management techniques, and separated the production unity from their residences, while at the same time becoming involved in activities pertaining to commercial and financial capitalism.¹⁷⁴

It is not our intention here to learn who these São Paulo farmers were or understand why this specific segment of coffee growers was able to cause so much change.

But it is important to consider that, as Fernandes asserts, the revolutionary success of São Paulo stemmed at least in part from its distance from the core of the colonial economy. As São Paulo did not fully partake in the benefits and advantages of a lordly lifestyle, it was not as hindered by its deformations and limitations. We should also keep in mind that the rural landowners who lived and wrote about the pioneering São Paulo farmers were shocked by what they saw as capitalist cruelty – the labour relations, the love of money –, a point that reveals the barrier that existed between the two ways of thinking of rural producers. The old rural gentlemen had not realized yet that they would soon share the same bourgeois fate of the new coffee growers and immigrants who were the other central figures in the bourgeois revolution in Brazil.¹⁷⁵

These abruptly imported lifestyles and bourgeois values bore the mark of a type of modernity in which an apparently intact public sphere had already been internally corroded by the privatization pressures that capitalism exerted on European society in

¹⁷⁴ REIS FILHO, Nestor Goulart. 2004.

¹⁷⁵ *Idem, Ibidem.*

the 19th century. In other words, the dynamics of the constitution of public life in São Paulo already encompassed the forces that would lead to its downfall.

Even so, if it was necessary to establish the boundaries of the public sphere in order to expand and consolidate the competitive social order, the social relations of liberal influence still had the power to create a public bourgeois life in São Paulo when the industrialisation process was still slow.

As the new urban customs gave life to a particular kind of public life and before triggering the process that would turn São Paulo into an industrial metropolis, the city would undergo a phase of urban embellishment and improvements.

4.3. THE ANCIENT AND THE NEW: RENOVATION OF CUSTOMS AND URBAN IMPROVEMENTS

The 1870s are considered a referential boundary for the transformations that came about as São Paulo consolidated its role as a financial centre for the coffee bourgeoisie. At the same time that demographic growth accelerated because of immigration¹⁷⁶, mainly of Italians, the expanding city became a stage where urban interventions were carried out both by public and private powers.

The recent and bustling capital market of São Paulo included the profits from urban services provided by representatives of the new business sector, which benefited from the many privileges distributed by the government. Between 1870 and 1880, in a capital with glaringly inadequate infrastructure, a wide variety of public services were organized: public transportation (1872); water and sewage systems (1883); the telephone (1884); electric lighting¹⁷⁷ (1872) and gas lighting (1888).¹⁷⁸ The

¹⁷⁶ In 1872, the city had 31,000 inhabitants; in 1895, it grew to 130,000 (71,000 of which were foreigners); and in 1900 it reached 239,000.

¹⁷⁷ From 1872 on, the kerosene lampions started to be replaced by gas lighting (the company responsible for that was London-based São Paulo Gás Co.). In 1887, the first 606 lampions were duplicated and 1,430 buildings were connected to the net. In 1888, the first electric lights were turned on downtown.

¹⁷⁸ CAMPOS, Eudes. São Paulo: desenvolvimento urbano e arquitetura sob o Império. In: *História da cidade de São Paulo. v 2: A cidade no Império. 1823-1889*. São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 2004. p. 219.

promising civil construction and real estate sectors became attractive for entrepreneurs and national and international companies.

An association between the provincial presidency and the Municipal Council became responsible for the actions that mobilized ever growing resources for urban improvements and embellishment works – an expression that was effectively used to refer to urban interventions of public character. Documents reveal that members of the Municipal Council wanted the capital of São Paulo to incorporate European values and customs that had already been assimilated to some degree in Brazil's main coastal cities. During the administration of the president (governor) João Theodoro Xavier (1872-1875), half of the province's budget was earmarked for works in the capital of São Paulo, which experienced a surge in landscape-gardening, planting of trees and paving of streets and squares. Furthermore, the president took on responsibility for rehabilitating the only public garden that existed in São Paulo, which had been abandoned since the early 1870s.

The Jardim da Luz (Garden of Lights) was created by the Marquis of Pombal as an incentive to the establish plant nurseries (*hortos*) in the Colony, which he considered important for opening new markets and diversifying production. In 1798, one year after the first Brazilian *horto* was founded in Pará, the King demanded the construction of a botanic *horto* in São Paulo.¹⁷⁹ In the following year, the city council of São Paulo donated¹⁸⁰ “*twenty lots of land 273 fathoms wide*” in Campos da Luz do Guaré¹⁸¹ for the creation of the *horto*, which would only be inaugurated much later, in the Empire, in 1825, when it was presented to the population as a Botanic “*Garden*” and opened for public visitation.

¹⁷⁹ KLIASS, Rosa Grena. *Parques urbanos de São Paulo e sua evolução na cidade*. São Paulo: Pini, 1993. p. 65.

¹⁸⁰ Before commerce of land was regulated by the Lei de Terras (Law of lands) enacted in 1850, Brazil adopted a communal system of ownership of urban land. In São Paulo, the Municipal Council was responsible for managing municipal land (*rossio*), reserving areas for public entertainment, opening streets and distributing land among the inhabitants. See FERREIRA, João Sette Whitaker. A cidade para poucos: breve história da propriedade urbana no Brasil. In: Annals of the symposium “*Interfaces das Representações Urbanas em Tempos de Globalização*”. UNESP Bauru and SESC Bauru, August 21 to 26, 2005.

¹⁸¹ The Campos de Nossa Senhora da Luz do Guaré were located north of the urban nucleus where the Feiras de Pilatos (Pilate's Fairs) were held during the celebrations of Corpus Christi. The northbound route had been widely used by the people of São Paulo since the end of the 17th century and was the trail followed by the explorers to reach Minas. Therefore, the traditional Caminho da Luz (or Caminho do Guaré) would be the first access to benefit from investments by the colonial policy established in São Paulo from 1765. See KLIASS, Rosa Grena. 1993. p. 113.

Promenading in a public garden, however, wasn't an activity that the inhabitants of São Paulo would immediately incorporate into their habits.

The public promenade as a place for socialization, and an occasion for the mutual display, had its development hindered in São Paulo, where the confinement of women prevented or limited the participation of these essential companions. While streets, fountains and shops were the domains of slaves and prostitutes, family women were confined to domestic spaces.

In the first half of the 19th century, the reclusion to which only part of the women in São Paulo were condemned was not representative of women's social role in the first two hundred years of the colonization of the highlands.

In São Paulo, the role of women was quite distinctive from that of their Northeastern counterparts due to the patriarchal organization of the landowners there. The patriarchal dominance in Brazilian colonial society did not prevail in the São Paulo highlands because the men, being explorers, delegated the management of family properties to the women while they were away from home.

However, from 1765 on, with the exhaustion of the mining cycle and the expansion of agricultural production, African slaves replaced the exploitation of native workforce. In this way, as the patrimonial production model was being absorbed in São Paulo, there was a simultaneous crystallization of the patriarchal form of domination in the region. The characteristics of the São Paulo patriarchal system were determined by its cultural distance from the customs of the Court and by its sparse urban demographics, which didn't contribute to a cohesive social life. It is worth remembering that in the early 1870s the São Paulo elite lived on small farms and country houses that surrounded the modest urban nucleus of the city – which, although it was a political large distance aggregator, didn't have an edified area larger than 40 hectares (100 acres).

São Paulo became a burgh of students with the establishment of the Academy of Law in 1828, even if, thirty years later, its social life was still belittled by the youths from Rio de Janeiro or other more developed cities. Students formed a negative impression of São Paulo's urban development and customs, which they conveyed in their letters and other writings – an “infinite yawn” without “entertaining promenades,

balls or society”. São Paulo was seen as a place where the only forms of entertainment that allowed men and women to meet were the processions and church parties.¹⁸²

Fig 8: Painting of Praça da Sé in 1827 by Jean Baptiste Debret



Source: www.scielo.br/scielo.php?pid=S0101-4714200700...

That processions¹⁸³ and church parties represented an exciting amusement to São Paulo’s inhabitants is confirmed by many other contemporary descriptions. Religious celebrations were seen as extremely happy moments, when the entire society would meet and everyone could express their Catholic devotion, in spite of the social inequalities present in the ceremonies. The procession named São Paulo comprised two brotherhoods, one of black people and another of white, who marched in column, carrying long candles and dressed in white or yellow *opas* (sleeveless surplices), according to the order they belonged to. Other large processions, celebrating saints that were officially important for the municipality as well as the fundamental dates of Catholicism, were related to the Corpus Christ procession: the Procissão do Enterro

¹⁸² CAMPOS, Alzira Lobo de Arruda. População e sociedade em São Paulo no sec. XIX. In: *História da cidade de São Paulo. v 2: A cidade no Império 1823-1889*. São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 2004. p. 15-55.

¹⁸³ The processions still preserved the ostentation and many burlesque aspects of the previous century. People covered the streets with flowers and orange leaves and adorned their windows with damask towels. See CAMPOS, Alzira Lobo de Arruda. Vida cotidiana e lazer em São Paulo oitocentista. In: *História da cidade de São Paulo. v 2: A cidade no Império 1823-1889*. São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 2004. p. 280.

(burial procession), from the Ordem Terceira do Carmo, and the procession to the Nossa Senhora da Penha cathedral. Afonso A. de Freitas¹⁸⁴ reports that after many processions there were congadas¹⁸⁵, batuques, sambas e moçambiques, not to mention the Caiapó dance, a combination of rural customs performed by “pretos crioulos da capital” (black people from the city). Among the smaller processions, which celebrated the saints of various city parishes, there was the cortege in tribute to Saint John the Baptist. In many of them, the sacred and profane still comingled. This was the case of Santa Cruz dos Enforcados, Santa Cruz do Pocinho and others.

As an attempt to extol the sacred aspect of the processions, the use of masks was banned in 1831. Although the masks were considered more appropriate for the *entrudos* [Mardi gras festivities] than for the religious solemnities, contemporary chronicles tell us that the mummers were never completely extinct. The *entrudo*, a profane feast party that preceded Ash Wednesday, was certainly the most irreverent of the street festivities during the Empire in São Paulo. Predecessor of modern-day *Carnaval*, the *entrudo* was a popular Portuguese custom that disseminated throughout all the cities of the Colony. João Mawe¹⁸⁶ describes the “singular” characteristics of the *entrudo* in São Paulo and says that, during the first days of the festivity, men and women had fun throwing over each other wax fruits filled with scented water. The ladies would start the game and men would join them so joyfully that “very rarely they’d stop before throwing dozens of fruits at each other, getting soaking wet and looking as if they’d just been fished from a river.” Slaves, mulattos and free black people took part in the game that maintained or even reinforced social hierarchies. Olga de Moraes von Simson¹⁸⁷ declares that black people had three main roles in the event: as auxiliaries to their masters, carrying big baskets full of wax fruits; as targets for the jesters; and as merchants selling the oranges and limes. The *entrudo* was strongly rejected by the intellectual elite and the abolitionists. It was considered a

¹⁸⁴ Apud. CAMPOS, Alzira Lobo de Arruda. *Vida cotidiana e lazer em São Paulo oitocentista*. In: *História da cidade de São Paulo*. v 2: *A cidade no Império 1823-1889*. São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 2004. p. 285.

¹⁸⁵ “Congada” was the generic name of the event, also known in São Paulo as “caiumba” – dances performed by black people. See CAMPOS, Alzira Lobo de Arruda. *Vida cotidiana e lazer em São Paulo oitocentista*. 2004. p. 285.

¹⁸⁶ Apud CAMPOS, Alzira Lobo de Arruda. *Vida cotidiana e lazer em São Paulo oitocentista*. In: *História da cidade de São Paulo*. v 2: *A cidade no Império 1823-1889*. São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 2004. p. 289.

¹⁸⁷ *Idem*, *Ibidem*.

‘barbarian game’, ‘contrary to the safety and health of the citizens’ (whereas the establishment of the *Carnaval* was properly considered as a civilizing achievement. In July 1855, the first modern *Carnaval* took place in São Paulo, the Grande Baile Mascarado (Great Masked Ball), at the Hotel Universo. In 1860, the *Correio Paulistano* newspaper celebrated the fifth anniversary of the *Carnaval*, which seemed to replace the “abject and silly” *entrudo*. The first edicts banishing the *entrudo* appeared in the early 1870s. After the instauration of the Código de Posturas (Code of Postures) in 1875 and the reorganization of the Diretoria de Obras Públicas (Public Works Directorate) during the mandate of Sebastião José Pereira (1875-1878), rationality became more highly valued and was incorporated into works and urban regulations. Not only the *entrudo*, but an increasing number of street festivities were subject to legal control, with the aim of rationalizing the use of city streets by the population. The traditional route of the Passos procession, for instance, was altered by an edict that forbade the cortege to walk along São Bento and Direita Streets on the way to Quatro Cantos, where the image of the saint would meet the image of Nossa Senhora das Dores. The meeting point was transferred to the wider area of the Colégio Square.¹⁸⁸

In a city where rural customs faced an accelerated process of urbanization, problems related to the breeding, circulation and intrusion of animals were also subject to regulation.

In the last fifteen years of the Empire, urban life was marked by an intense conflict between colonial values and the new rules of civility that were being imposed on an expanding city that had become the centre of dissemination of a competitive market.

In a society where slavery was in decadence but had not yet been abolished and where increasing numbers of immigrants, mainly Italian, were arriving, the use of urban services (such as public transport, light and gas, which were inaugurated in 1872) was certainly marked by situations of tension and perplexity.

As Fraya Frese explains in her studies of the streets of the São Paulo at the end of the Empire, the central problem of the social relations of the period was related to

¹⁸⁸ CAMPOS, Alzira Lobo de Arruda. *Vida cotidiana e lazer em São Paulo oitocentista*. In: *História da cidade de São Paulo*. v 2: *A cidade no Império 1823-1889*. São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 2004. p. 289.

the contradiction between extreme social inequality and the equality of all before merchandise, a situation that was created with the establishment of the modern capitalism. The new urban experiences appeared in newspapers, described as dramatic reports, complaints, praises and caricatures compiled by the author. The inauguration of gardens, fountains, tram lines were presented very enthusiastically by the newspapers: ‘The inauguration of tram lines – If our grandparents had the Divino festivities and the Independence celebrations, we have lanterns and bands and fireworks to celebrate the tram lines and railways.’¹⁸⁹ Conflict arose, in the words of the author “when, on the occasion of the festivities, public places became everyone’s place...”, as described in the last paragraph of the text:

Everything went well, the only inconvenience being that the police was disturbed by groups of boys that were having fun by throwing stones. The main victims of this savage game were the musicians and the people who worked with the fireworks. The festivities were held under the sponsorship of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood.¹⁹⁰

Many articles revealed indignation towards the behaviour of the workers (*serventuários*, as they were called at the time). A very distinguished lady, for instance, felt insulted by the conductor of line 9 for not having coins, only bills to pay for her ticket. Caricatures abounded. There was one of the “Vinagre” (vinegar), an expression used to describe a well-dressed gentleman who was squeezed in a crowded tram with the workers. And another of the “Almofadinha” (dandy), in which a distinguished and well-mannered young man is bowing, hat in hand, excusing himself for walking across the donkeys that were crowding the streets.¹⁹¹

The dynamics of the emergence of the new socio-cultural practices was very conflicting, because as the new practices superposed the old ones, weakening them, they were impregnated by patrimonial values.

¹⁸⁹ FREHSE, Fraya. *O tempo das ruas na São Paulo de fins do Império*. São Paulo: Edusp, 2005. p. 198.

¹⁹⁰ *Idem, Ibidem*.

¹⁹¹ *Idem, Ibidem*. p. 116, 200.

Fig 9: Installation of tram tracks in Rua Direita with Rua São Bento (1900)



Source: sempla.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/historico/1900.php

Far from being extinguished with the end of the Empire, such conflicts would remain during the entirety of the Republic (1889-1929). After that, however, they were mediated by a new symbolic apparatus that intended to provide meaning to the civic republican spirit.

Politically, the Republic, proclaimed one year after the abolition of slavery, represented the reaffirmation of liberal, positivistic ideals and the rejection of the colonial, monarchic, slave-driven past. The legitimacy of the republican ideal was followed by a phenomenon defined by Eric Hobsbawm¹⁹² (1984) as ‘invented traditions’. So symbolic apparatuses were created – such as flags, hymns, monuments and a calendar of civic celebrations intended to permeate public life and the collective republican ideal.

It’s important to emphasize that, although invented traditions that penetrate social practice tend to be long-lasting, it’s not uncommon to find that many of them remain in place only while they perform a specific ideological role.

In the childhood and youthful memories of Jorge Americano, we find many examples of invented traditions that were intended to legitimize the republican public spirit and that also acted as a stimulus for the São Paulo bourgeois elite to maintain a

¹⁹² HOBBSBAWM, Eric and RANGER, Terence. *A invenção das tradições*. São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 1997.

cohesive public life. Many of these traditions disappeared at the end of the old Republic, when it was no longer necessary to foster this type of sociability.¹⁹³

During the years following the instauration of the Republic, the ideology of progress gave rise to a comprehensive urban reform, which included the absorption of new habits and the production of a new space.

At a time when an intensive process of dividing into lots the land of the small farms and country houses that surrounded the old city centre is going on, programs of urban improvement and embellishment allowed the rising bourgeoisie to exploit the real estate market and consolidate public life. Investments in new neighbourhoods for the dominant and middle-income classes and the renovation of the centres of these neighbourhoods demonstrated that the production of urban space leads to real estate speculation and spatial segregation.

Villaça explains that, at the time, São Paulo could expand in three directions: east of the Tamanduateí River¹⁹⁴, comprising the flood plains of Carmo; west of the same river, where its feeder, the Anhangabaú Stream, also formed a flooding valley; and the watershed ridge between both rivers, a narrow and wrinkled site spreading from the old central nucleus. The city grew in all directions, even if selectively.¹⁹⁵

The eastern part of the hill had the advantage of being the traditional gateway to the city, site of the governor's residence and of affluent, wealthy families.

To the west were the streets of the so-called New City, built between 1807 and 1808, a natural barrier that was nevertheless easier to climb. Besides being wider than the Anhangabaú Valley, the Carmo floodplains imposed more difficulties of access and a railway system, the São Paulo Railway, was opened in the Tamanduateí Valley in 1867.

Thus, elite neighbourhoods started being built in the West and, later, in the Southwest of the city. Following suit, the Campos Elíseos Avenue was opened in 1879, Paulista Avenue was inaugurated in 1891 and the Higienópolis neighbourhood was created in 1893. The districts east of the city were populated by immigrants and

¹⁹³ AMERICANO, Jorge. *São Paulo naquele tempo (1895-1915)*. São Paulo: Saraiva, 1957.

¹⁹⁴ This river frequently flooded and was held responsible for the lack of sanitation in the old city.

¹⁹⁵ VILLAÇA, Flávio J. Magalhães. *Espaço intra-urbano no Brasil*. São Paulo: Studio Nobel: FAPESP: Lincoln Institute, 1998.

workers, since many industries were concentrated along that local railway built by the British.

Popular housing increasingly proliferated towards the area east of the hill, whereas the Anhangabaú Valley became the central point of the city through which one could reach the new upper- and middle-class residential neighbourhoods.

Two essentially important areas were opened in 1892 in the new urban bourgeois region: a new overpass, “Viaduto do Chá”, that crossed the Anhangabaú Valley, connecting the “old downtown” to the “new city”, and the Paulista Avenue grove (Bosque da Avenida Paulista), also known as Villon Park.

Fig 10: Opening of “Viaduto do Chá” in 1892



Source: www.forumfuscabrasil.com/index.php?topic=1510.0

Despite being open for public use, the grove was the private property of João Augusto Garcia, who, together with José Borges de Figueiredo, established a partnership with Joaquim Eugênio de Lima, the creator of an enterprise that promoted building the local Champs Élysées on the top of the Caaguaçu skyscraper. The landscaping project of the new park was made by Paul Villon, a Frenchman who made use of the remaining exuberant Atlantic Forest vegetation to form an English garden of romantic inspiration. Villon’s design offered park users a safe stroll, under thick tree crowns, and perfect visual isolation from the surroundings. The park

became part of the city in 1911, ceasing to be a property of the Italian industrialist Francisco Matarazzo.¹⁹⁶

(It's important to point out that the urban space produced in the early years of the Republic did not yet constitute a modern, 20th century capitalist space.)

Fig 11: The tram line in "Viaduto do Chá"



Source: gifsgoticasfantasiafree.arteblog.com.br/2/.

In a kind of oscillatory dynamics between the immediate demands of capitalist production and circulation and the need for the bourgeoisie to use the space for its social life, the latter still retained its privileges. To quote Villaça, ‘the city of consumption was privileged to the detriment of the city of production’, a trend that would dominate São Paulo from the 1930s on.

In a society still being formed, where old characters acquired new traits and new social roles were emerging, the constitution of the public sphere was necessary to reorganise the relations of dominance. By distinguishing and giving urban identity to a bourgeoisie of agrarian origins, public life in the First Republic allowed the elite to

¹⁹⁶ MACEDO, Silvio Soares; SAKATTA, Francine G. *Parques urbanos no Brasil*. 2 ed. São Paulo: Edusp; Imprensa Oficial do Estado de São Paulo, 2003. p.177.

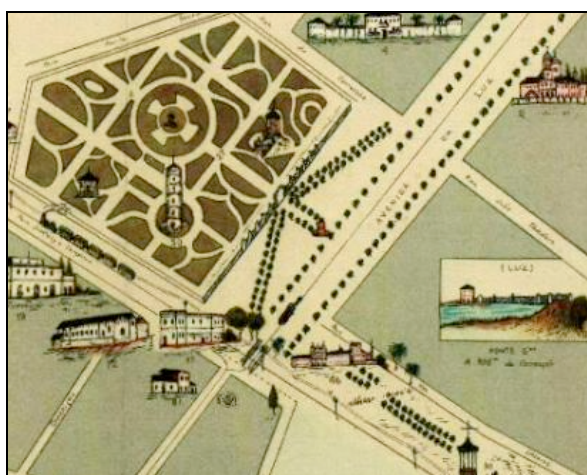
consolidate its domains within a code that was apparently diverse from that of the old patrimonial relations.

Rejecting the monotony and the backwardness associated with the recent colonial, slave-driven past, and attempting to identify itself with the progress of the big European cities, the São Paulo bourgeoisie created communication channels and spaces for sociability that were inspired by the habits of the old continent elite.

Thus, the theatres, coffee shops, pastry shops and restaurants that were built for the São Paulo elite to convene and fraternize mirrored the refinement of European social life. Private literary parties, music auditions, strolls in landscaped streets, squares and gardens became habits of the new urban culture.

After refurbishing the Jardim da Luz (also named as “Public Garden”), Councillor Antonio da Silva Prado, São Paulo’s first elected mayor¹⁹⁷ often went there with his family to listen to the presentations of the Banda de Música da Força Pública (the military band of the police) playing Wagner, Beethoven, Bach and Schubert. A monarchist of liberal ideals, Antonio Prado governed the city for twelve years (1899-1910), a decade in which political disputes between republicans and monarchists committed to the new regime interfered in the organization and operation of the city’s government agencies.

Fig 12: Sketch of “Public Garden” in 1877



Source: www.arquiamigos.org.br/info/info04/index.html

¹⁹⁷ In 1898, the municipal power was re-structured and defined the roles of mayor and vice-mayor, separating the legislative from the executive branches.

Fig 13: Jardim da Luz in the XIX century



Source: arvoresvivas.wordpress.com/.../

His administration inaugurated a period in which the city centre became the privileged focus of bourgeois idealization. Guidelines for remodelling the centre of town were ardently discussed in the newspapers. There was a clear tendency to organise private buildings in such a way as to enhance the public space.

Fig 14: Prates Palace facing the “Parque do Anhangabaú”



Source: trapichedeversoseafins.blogspot.com/2009/12/c...

However, the more public space was created to reaffirm a liberal way of life, the more the excluding aspect of this space became explicit. Because it denied the colonial, slavocratic past, the bourgeois reason tried to erase any form of sociability and cultural manifestation that was not inspired by European (i.e., civilised) patterns.

This was the tone of the works of improvement that began in 1903 in the old centre. Initially, the intention was to expel the negroes from their central church and the square in which congadas, batuques, sambas, moçambiques, caipos and other popular manifestations took place. The old church and small houses of the Irmandade Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Homens Pretos were demolished and a new square was built in their place, highlighting the access to XV de Novembro Street and its intersection with São Bento Street.

Fig 15: Largo do Rosário in 1862/63, photographed by Militão Augusto de Azevedo



Source: www.scielo.br/scielo.php?pid=S0101-4714200700

Simultaneously with the work on that square, XV de Novembro Street was widened and rectified, becoming the main commercial axis of the São Paulo elite. There, and in Direita Street, women from the middle and upper classes, who still faced rigid social control and for whom strolling in the streets was a new practice, calmly walked along window shopping and purchasing items. In the afternoon, they could be seen at the Castelões pastry shop or at Café Guarany, meeting points for

writers and journalists, most of whom praised progress and the liberating power of urban improvement works.

Fig 16: XV de Novembro Street in 1916



Source: sempla.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/historico/1900.php

The renovation work being carried out in the city centre, intensely discussed in the newspapers, gave rise to hot disputes, especially after the first decade of the century, one of which reveals the intention of municipal powers to consolidate their role. A feud was established between the city's Works Directorship (which approved, in 1920, a project that involved extensive expropriation and expensive works in the downtown area) and a group of businessmen that proposed a different plan to the state government and to the Municipal Council. The conflict also concealed the political rivalry that existed between the governor's and the mayor's office. The Municipal Council asked Joseph Antoine Bouvard, director of the Department of Architecture, Gardens and Traffic of Paris, who was then visiting São Paulo¹⁹⁸, to develop a

¹⁹⁸ Joseph Antoine Bouvard, had prepared an improvement plan for Buenos Aires a few years earlier and was in São Paulo as a guest of the Belgian businessman Edouard Fontaine de Laveleye, with whom he had family bonds and financial interests. See REIS, Nestor Goulart. *Algumas experiências urbanísticas no início da República: 1890-1920*. Cadernos de Pesquisa do LAP. São Paulo: Fauusp, 1997.

program for the city. The project proposed by Bouvard was aligned with the one that had been developed by the Works Directorship and was made official in 1911.¹⁹⁹

Fig 17: Opening of the Municipal Theatre in 1911



Source: sempla.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/historico/1900.php

The program was responsible for remodelling the city during the 1910s and 1920s and gave São Paulo its major public parks²⁰⁰ in the first half of the 20th century, including D. Pedro II Park, in the marshy areas of Tamaduateí River.

Besides the reorganization of the central area, Bouvard had an important role in the formation of modern high-income residential districts in São Paulo. Bouvard's studies and assessments were responsible for persuading international investors to realize the potential of the property market in São Paulo. The French architect was directly involved in forming the main São Paulo development company at the beginning of the 20th century, the "Cia. City" (City of São Paulo, Improvements and Freehold Land Company Ltd), established from a joint venture between British and Brazilian investors. Besides Bouvard himself, the company was directed by names like Edouard Laveleye, Cincinnato

¹⁹⁹ REIS, Nestor Goulart, 1997.

²⁰⁰ They were both projected and designed by E.F.Couchet in accordance with the principles of the Anglo/French School of Landscaping and Architecture adopted decades earlier by Glazious, in Rio de Janeiro, and by Carlos Thais in Buenos Aires. In the same period, two other major works were inaugurated, both in keeping with the Anglo/French School, both with an organic design and Romantic landscape architecture in São Paulo: the Buenos Aires square, at Higienópolis in 1917, and the renovated Villon Park in 1918, both in very elegant neighbourhoods, as the former Jardim da Luz. See MACEDO, Silvio Soares and Sakatta, Francine G. 2003. p.27.

Braga, Campos Salles and Lord Balfour, who was also president of “The Sao Paulo Railway” and became Foreign Minister of England after the First World War.

Fig 18: Sketch of Jardim América plot



Source: www.ciacity.com.br/.

“Cia City” was responsible for the developments that would consolidate themselves as the main districts of the São Paulo elite, such as Jardim América, Pacaembu, Alto de Pinheiros and Alto da Lapa. Considering the recent British experience of implementing “Howard’s Garden City” that had impregnated the urban ideals of many of the investors of the company, the architect Barry Parker was brought to São Paulo.

In this sense, the first project developed by the English architect for Cia City was the large development of "Jardim America" referred to as a typical "garden city" community plan. In 1917, however, Parker redrafted his project in order to adapt it to specific conditions of the Brazilian real estate market. If according to the original intend, the garden city should accommodate groups of the urban middle classes, in the case of the São Paulo development, Cia City intended to produce a blend of high standard housing for the urban elite. Thus, in the redesign, the development became an area strictly for residential use, which also had a private sports club, the Paulistano Athletic Club. Aesthetically, however, the winding routes of the streets (which aligned themselves with the contour lines of the land), interposed by semi-public gardens, still reflected the idea

adopted initially - the English garden city. The pattern established by Cia City in their blend of high standard developments in São Paulo became a model adopted by other developers in several Brazilian cities in subsequent years.

As regards the reconfiguration of the central area of Sao Paulo, it is worth remembering that the rectification of both the Tamanduateí and Anhangabaú streams had actually began in 1896, because these works were important to carry out future plans for the new city centre, as well as for the construction of a park in the former Carmo flooding plains.

The urbanization of the Tamanduateí River, completed in 1915, was the result of an articulation of private and public interests. While the former intended to divide the land of the region into lots, the claims of the latter can be seen in a report prepared by mayor Washington Luís in 1916:

protected by depressions in the ground, the arcades of bridges, the vegetation of the bushes, the lack of light, the scum of the city meets up, in disgusting promiscuity, composed by vagabond male negroes, female negroes marked by the usual drunkenness, a vicious miscegenation of losers of all nationalities, all ages, every one of them dangerous. It is there, where crimes are committed that decency commands us to silence, it is there the place that attracts thoughtless youngsters and concupiscent old people to murder and steal (...) Denouncing this evil is prescribing the medicine – a beautiful, safe and healthy park. There is no room for hesitation, because opposed to that is the beauty, the cleanliness, the hygiene, the morals, the safety, in brief, the civilization and the entrepreneurial spirit of São Paulo.²⁰¹

As soon as it was founded in 1919, the Cia. de Melhoramentos da Várzea do Carmo (Company for Improvements of the Carmo floodplains) was given permission to divide into lots some of the blocks of land in the external areas of the public grounds, provided that it also built a park in the central area. The works were finished around 1922, the same year that the Palácio das Indústrias (Industry Palace) was

²⁰¹ Washington Luís. *Relatório*, 1º volume.

completed, in one of the flanks of the river. Nearby, at Cantareira Street, the construction of the Municipal Market has begun.

The sanitization of the Anhangabaú Valley was finished in 1906 and, in 1918, the works on the park that established a visual connection between the Prates Mansions (erected on Libero Badaró Street) with the new Municipal Theatre (inaugurated in 1911) were completed, forming the setting for modernity in downtown São Paulo.

In accordance with Bouvard's works program, São João Avenue was opened, with larger city blocks, eventually reaching General Osório Street, near present-day Júlio Mesquita Square. Bouvard's plan having been carried out, the Anhangabaú Valley and environs definitely became an ideal scenario for the dominant classes' public life.

Fig 19: "Parque do Anhangabaú" in 1915



Source: sempla.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/historico/1900.php

As elucidated by Reis Filho, public transportation terminals were built in Anhangabaú Valley and Antônio Prado Square, making the city's centre easily accessible to high-income neighbourhoods. At Sé Square, the public transportation terminals took people to the industrial neighbourhoods west, east, south and southwest of the city (Brás, Ipiranga and Vila Mariana). D. Pedro II Park was designed to be a barrier between the central area and the poorer neighbourhoods of the

southern and south-western zones. During some time, it was the final stop of the Cantareira Tramway line, the main link to the poorer neighbourhoods of the north zone.²⁰²

The usufruct of the downtown area by the dominant class continued until the 1960s, when the elite would abandon the area to establish new central locations. This moment of abandonment of the city's historic centre by the upper classes is clearly the start of a new chapter in the public life of São Paulo's bourgeoisie. This apparently abrupt occurrence was, nevertheless, the result of a new dynamics of urban arrangement that began in the 1930s and was only consolidated in the 1960s, when monopolistic capitalism became more structured.

If in the 1930s the dominant class strove to constitute urban spaces for itself, during the period of industrial transition (roughly from the 1930s to the 1950s) it became necessary to organize spaces for the everyday life of the expanding middle class. New spaces then arose to satisfy the new demand for circulation and no longer the already obsolete need of the dominant class to create representative settings for itself. This doesn't mean, however, that the urban culture of embellishment collapsed instantly.

Reis Filho described it very well:

Between the 1930s and the end of the 1950s, with its public and private gardens, the central area and the neighbourhoods of the upper and middle classes preserved the charm of the city of São Paulo, reflecting the attention with which it was treated.(...) The appearance of the city was more circumspect. Even the clothes worn by the population were more formal. Men wore ties and dark suits. Until the 1950s, even university students had to wear suits compulsorily. Attendance to the movies was only allowed to those who were wearing ties. In photographs and movies of the period, we can still see football fans wearing suits to the stadium in colder days.

Women from the middle and upper classes wouldn't go out without gloves, hats, purses and skirts (...) They'd take the tram with all

²⁰² REIS FILHO, Nestor Goulart. 1997.

their elegance, leaning wherever they could and rarely got to their final locations with their clothes and accessories clean, which were stained in shades of grey by the dirt from the buses and automobiles. (...)

Those who live in São Paulo today find it difficult to admit that the city and its appearance were much better in the past, when some of its charm was still preserved. (...) The metropolitan explosion destroyed in a few decades a whole past of elegance.²⁰³

Fig 20: Parque d. Pedro II in 1959



Source: /www.arquiamigos.org.br/info/info22/i-manu.htm

²⁰³ REIS FILHO, Nestor Goulart, 2004. p. 207

5. Public life vs. mass society: space and sociability in São Paulo

5.1. THE DECADENCE OF PUBLIC LIFE AND THE ASCENDANCY OF EVERYDAY LIFE

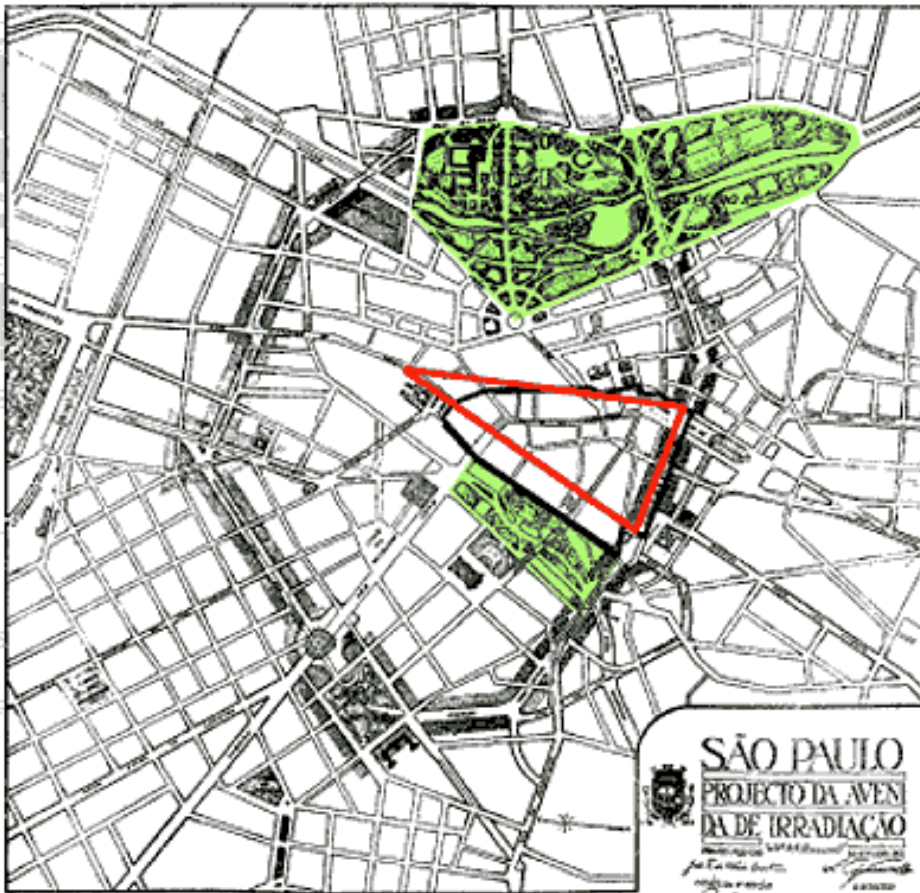
Since the 1930s, infrastructural works have been favoured to the detriment of ‘works for embellishment and improvements’ that, during the period of expansion of the competitive social order, had given rise to the public life spaces needed to consolidate São Paulo’s bourgeois elite. The “*Estudo para um Plano de Avenidas para a Cidade de São Paulo*” (Study for a Plan of Avenues for the City of São Paulo), prepared in 1930, indicated the beginning of a transition period. As defined by Villaça, the beautiful city was turning into an efficient city, which meant that the city of consumption was becoming a city of production. “The works distanced themselves from conspicuous consumption in favour of establishing the general conditions for the production and reproduction of capital (the city as a force of production).”²⁰⁴

In the urban conception of the “Plano de Avenidas” (Plan of Avenues), infrastructural works, transportation and traffic systems in particular, were addressed as a comprehensive plan. The influence of embellishment, however, was still present. Mayor/engineer Prestes Maia included in his Plan a variety of considerations on urban embellishment and monumental drawings of baroque influence.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁴ VILLAÇA, Flávio J. Magalhães. Uma contribuição para a história do planejamento urbano no Brasil. In: Deák, Csaba; Schiffer, Sueli R. (orgs). *O processo de urbanização no Brasil*. São Paulo: Fupam: Edusp, 1999. p.199.

²⁰⁵ In the “Plan of Avenues”, questions related to urban legislation were also addressed, like the rectification of the Tietê River and the urbanization of its banks, as well as popular housing and zoning laws.

Fig 21: Irradiation Road of Avenue Plan



Source: www.archplus.net/index.php?s=Publikationen&c=193

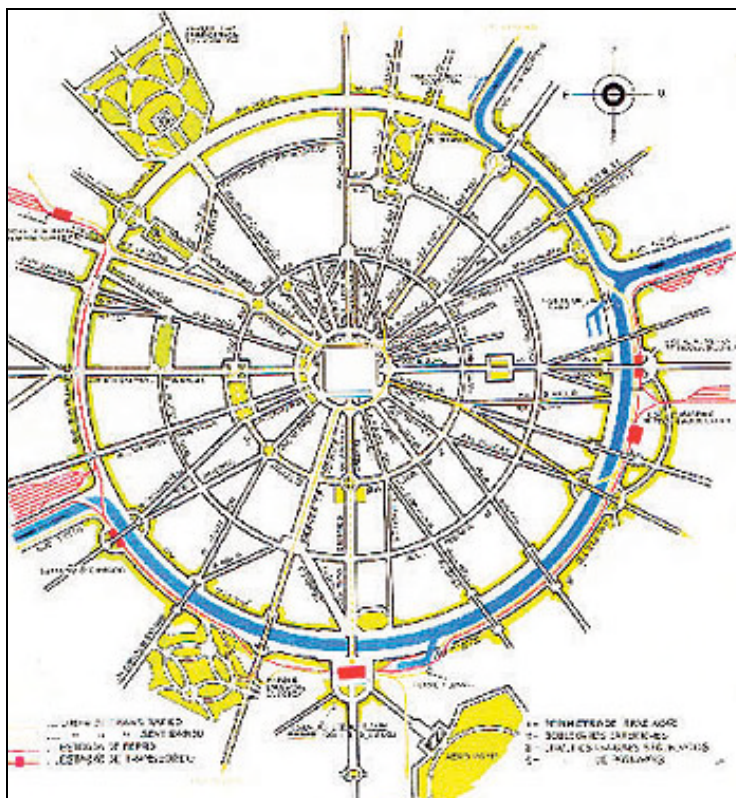
The appendix of the Plan proposed a system of green areas that related to the aesthetic characteristics and traffic designs of the arterial plan.

Although the question of garden areas for common use was discussed in his Plan, Prestes Maia's actions as mayor (1938-1945 and 1961-1964) revealed that these weren't a priority. In the context of the World War II and during the dictatorship of the Estado Novo (1937-1945), when a populist regime guaranteed the enactment of national labour laws, Prestes Maia's administration contributed for the economic improvement of São Paulo, with investments in infrastructure.

During his mandates, Maia, known as an incontrovertibly principled user of public money, prioritized the execution of the traffic system proposed by the Plan. His administration focused on traffic-related works in the centre and on the construction of routes connecting it to traditional neighbourhoods or to new areas that had recently been divided into lots. In this way, he completed the construction of the new Viaduto do Chá and of the so-called "perimeter of irradiation", a small ring road surrounding

the centre, which had been part of the Plan of Avenues as an original idea by Ulhoa Cintra.

Fig 22: Road system of Avenue plan



Source: www.archplus.net/index.php?s=Publikationen&c=193

Streets were widened²⁰⁶, avenues and bridges built²⁰⁷ or extended²⁰⁸. This urban remodelling contributed to the creation of some gardened areas²⁰⁹ adjacent to the traffic system being built.

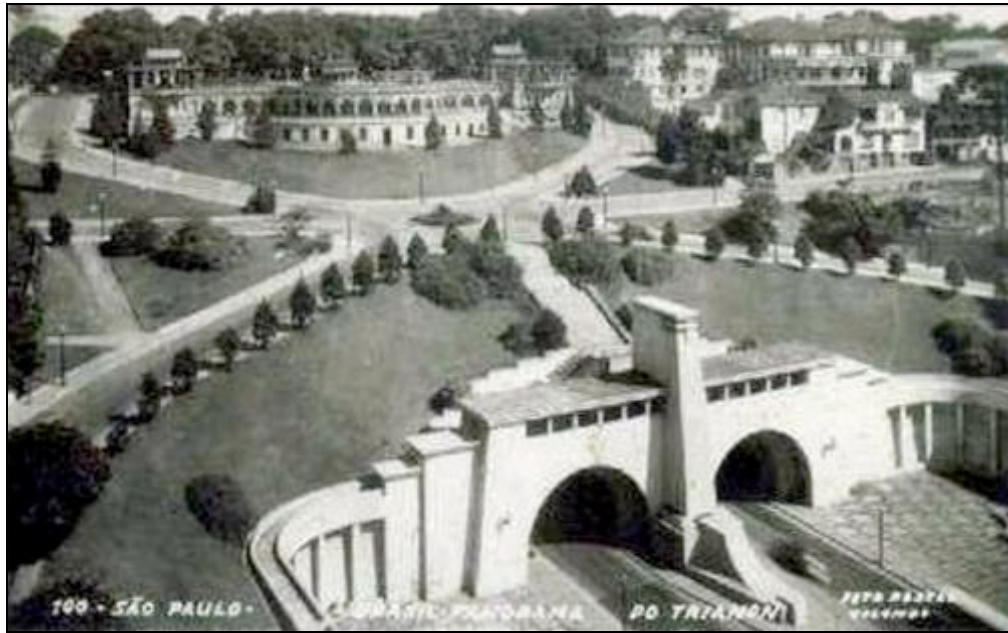
²⁰⁶ Ipiranga and São Luís streets were turned into avenues. The East Zone was somewhat benefited by the widening of Rangel Pestana Avenue. See LEME, Maria Cristina *Formação do urbanismo em São Paulo como campo de conhecimento e área de atuação profissional*. Dissertation for Livre-Docência's Degree. Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo/FAUUSP, 2000. p.92

²⁰⁷ It was in this period that avenues Duque de Caxias, Senador Queiroz, Vieira de Carvalho, Anhangabaú (currently Prestes Maia) and Liberdade were widened. The opening of Tiradentes Avenue and the construction of the Ponte Grande intended to provide more connections with the North Zone, which Prestes Maia considered an important area for expansion of the city. See LEME, Maria Cristina, 2000, e KLIASS, Rosa Grena *Parques urbanos de São Paulo e sua evolução na cidade*. São Paulo: Pini, 1993.

²⁰⁸ Rebouças, Pacaembu, São João, Paulista and Nove de Julho avenues were extended and, in the latter, an overpass and a tunnel were built. See KLIASS, Rosa Grena, 1993.

²⁰⁹ These were, among others: Praça Alfredo Issa, at the time measuring 88 x 155 m at the intersection of Conceição Avenue (today's Cásper Líbero) and Couto de Magalhães street in Santa Efigênia; Praça Conde de Sarzedas (today's Dr. Mario Margarido), that was widened and had gardens implanted, in the Liberdade district; Praça Cornélia, in Vila Romana; Praça das Guianas, in Jardim

Fig 23: Nove de Julho Avenue and Tunnel



Source: italianadas.blogspot.com/2009_04_01_archive.html

The gardened areas of this period, however, were inspired by a paradigm distinct from the one that motivated the creation of squares and gardens during the embellishment period. As previously seen, the works for embellishment in São Paulo were based on an European, predominantly French, aesthetic model, adapted to the need for a space of acquaintanceship and enjoyment of the bourgeois elite that was in process of consolidation. However, since the 1930s, with the increasing industrialization and expansion of the labour force market, the everyday life of the middle classes emerged as the dominant spirit of urban life.

América; Praça Fernando Prestes, in Luz; Praça Rudge, in Tatuapé; Praça General Polidoro, in Aclimação; Praça Nossa Senhora Aparecida, in Moema; Praça Nossa Senhora da Conceição, in Cambuci; Praça Anajás (today's Praça Dom Gastão Liberal Pinto), in Itaim; the area of 90,000 m² at the intersection of Avenida do Estado with the Tietê Canal; a triangle-shaped garden at the intersection of Rebouças and Dr. Arnaldo avenues; the area behind the Palácio das Indústrias; the area next to the northern gate of the Avenida Nove de Julho tunnel (a fragmented green area known today as Yoshiya Takaoka, Antonio Benetazzo, Flavio de Carvalho, Geremia Lunardelli and Rodrigo Lefevre squares, plus the lawn embankments next to Engenheiro Monlevade and Professor Piccarolo streets); the square in Alameda Jaú, at the southern gate of Nove de Julho Avenue, today's Praça Alexandre de Gusmão; Praça do Carmo, which would be re-named Clovis Bevilacqua and would later be engulfed by the new Praça da Sé; the square in Avenida São Luiz (today's Praça Dom José Gaspar); Praça da Consolação (later to be known as Praça Roosevelt and whose shape today dates back to the end of the period considered here). Besides the above-mentioned areas, other public areas with gardens were remodelled under Maia's management – among them, Praça João Mendes, Largo do Arouche, Praça Ramos de Azevedo, and the Anhangabaú Park – and trees were planted on new roads, including Senador Queiroz, Ipiranga, Maria Paula and Mercúrio, demanding a action from the Parks, Gardens and Graveyards Subdivision. See BARTALINI Vladimir. *Parques públicos municipais de São Paulo*. Dissertation for Doctor's Degree. São Paulo, Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo / USP, 1999.

The urban space stopped being the scenery of an ideal bourgeois life to become the facilitating medium of everyday life for the middle classes. This new space emerged to fulfil the demands for circulation that, in São Paulo, were based on a road-traffic model, influenced by North American urbanism.

Silva Leme recalls that circulation became more and more important with the remodelling of São Paulo's central area and mentions Anhangabaú Valley as a specific example of such kind of change. In the Plan, Prestes Maia also reproduced the dominant ideal that considered Anhangabaú Valley as "São Paulo's reception room". However, after the works were completed, the main role of the city centre was the circulation of vehicles towards the South Zone. "Two circulation roads occupy the space that used to be reserved for green areas, which were reduced after the works to simple central and lateral pathways"²¹⁰.

It's obvious that the impacts of a road-traffic transportation model would be multiple. In São Paulo, the model meant the geographic relocation of areas for popular housing and for industrial expansion in the urban perimeter. Relocated to the margins of the new roads, the industries, which benefited from the increase in paving and road construction, were able to expand their markets during the 1940s and, specially, during the 1950s.

Fig 24: Parque Anhangabaú in 1939



Source: www.azougue.com/conteudo/antigamente_saopaulo.htm

²¹⁰ LEME, Maria Cristina, 2000. p. 89

Fig 25: Ahnahngabau Street in 1949



Source: www.azougue.com/conteudo/antigamente_saopaulo.htm

Since rail transport has a range of influence limited by the location of stations, offering bus transport was an easier way for the municipal government to address the problem of popular housing, stimulating self-construction in sparse areas of the periphery. Furthermore, during the verticalization of the central area, which was taken over by office buildings, residential neighbourhoods were expelled to more distant regions and the growth of the periphery was a way of attaining spatial segregation²¹¹.

While residential buildings for the bourgeoisie were built in neighbourhoods close to the centre, the radiocentric model of the traffic system allowed the occupation of the periphery. In this way, the transference of low income workers to distant areas with no infrastructure configured a city of low demographic density (when compared to the previous pattern, demographically concentrated near the railways)²¹².

It's important to point out that the reordered and remodelled city of the 1940s was undergoing a period of transition. The city of buses was still the city of trams, where the embellishment ideal still influenced urban life.

²¹¹ Seen as a form of domination through the use of space, spatial segregation refers to a process in which different social classes tend increasingly to concentrate in different regions or groups of neighbourhoods. See VILLAÇA, Flávio J. Magalhães. 1998, p. 142.

²¹² ROLNIK, Raquel. *Folha explica*. São Paulo: Publifolha, 2003.

Fig 26: Tram and bus in São João Avenue



Source: www.azogue.com/conteudo/antigamente_saopaulo.htm

The city was becoming modern, a place where the ancient and the new intertwined and confronted each other and where the representations of urbanism and modern architecture were equally incoherent.

In fact, during most of the 1940's, the engineers of the city that had created conditions for the *Semana de Arte Moderna* (Modern Art Week) to take place in the 1920's resisted the penetration of the paradigm of modern architecture. As Lemos explains, modern architecture in São Paulo was only definitively consolidated after World War II²¹³. Prior to that, São Paulo architects graduated from engineering schools and put into practice the eclectic architecture that was fashionable at the time (neo-colonial, Spanish-American or "Missions" style, among others – and, above all, Art Deco). What contributed for the dissemination of modern architecture in the city were architects from Rio de Janeiro attuned with Lúcio Costa, as well as the settling, in São Paulo, of foreign architects engaged in modernist concepts. Another determining factor was the inauguration of the first two schools of architecture at Mackenzie University and the Universidade de São Paulo in 1947 and 1948, respectively. Two modernist museums were also founded in the city by private initiative: the MASP (São Paulo Art Museum), sponsored by the Paraíba-born Assis

²¹³ LEMOS, Carlos A.C. O modernismo arquitetônico em São Paulo.

In: http://www.vitruvius.com.br/arquitextos/arq065/arq065_01.asp , accessed on 09/13/2007.

Chateaubriand, owner of Brazil's first communications network; and the MAM (Modern Art Museum), sponsored by industrialist Matarazzo Sobrinho.

In this way, at the same time that the first generation of engineer-architects²¹⁴ converted to modernism was emerging in São Paulo, it also became clear that, at the core of the city's bourgeoisie, there was a group of interested people with financial power who intended to associate São Paulo with the liberal culture of the 'developed countries' (terminology that was used at that time).

Therefore, paradoxically, São Paulo's modern architecture, which hoped to meet social needs based on aesthetic and political concepts radically diverse from the ones traditionally adopted by the national bourgeoisie, was stimulated by the emergence of a new group at the core of the very same bourgeoisie.

This emerging group had benefited from industrial exports during World War II and, as a result of capitalism's needs for technological improvements worldwide, sought identification with international symbols of progress and modernity.

Regarding development policy, as mentioned by Regina Meyer, São Paulo was opening its gates for the entrance of foreign capital and technology at the same time a diversion (but not a rupture) was occurring in its urban development, brought about by a change in the size and content of the city's urbanization.

With the increasing expansion of the periphery, the time spent commuting to work imposed itself as a central factor in the constitution of social time, which composed everyday life of the middle classes since the onset of industrialization, and was based on the time imposed by work.

The more determining the struggle for survival of the urban popular masses became, the less importance was given to the role of space for communal use and the fulfilment of basic everyday needs. Thus, even when there was a possibility of political participation, the spatial proliferation of the working classes was connected to the weakening dynamics of public life. Social construction of time and space presupposed a routine in which social life was more favoured by the domains of the private than of the public. The urban masses, struggling day after day to survive in an

²¹⁴ Some stood out from the group: Rubens Carneiro Viana, Jayme Fonseca Rodrigues, Roberto Cerqueira César, Rino Levi, Eduardo Kneese de Melo, Oswaldo Arthur Bratke and João Batista Vilanova Artigas.

environment in which they had a central role in social-spatial organization, were the target of political strategies. The control exercised by the dominant class wouldn't be possible without the production of ideologies²¹⁵.

The construction of an ideology would be essential to enable, during the configuration of monopolistic capital, a new socio-spatial order overriding the social space order that had been constituted a few decades earlier, when the expansion of competitive capital still needed to consolidate a bourgeois revolution in São Paulo.

According to Florestan Fernandes, the eruption of monopolistic capitalism – characterized by the reorganization of the market and of the production system through commercial, financial and industrial operations – would only be emphasized by the late 1950s and would only acquire a structural character after the Revolution of 1964²¹⁶.

The new space that became dominant by the mid 1960s, which configured the mischaracterization or destruction of the recently constituted social space of bourgeois public life in São Paulo, presumed a socio-spatial dynamics that corresponded to those described by Lefebvre when conceptualizing “abstract space”. According to the author:

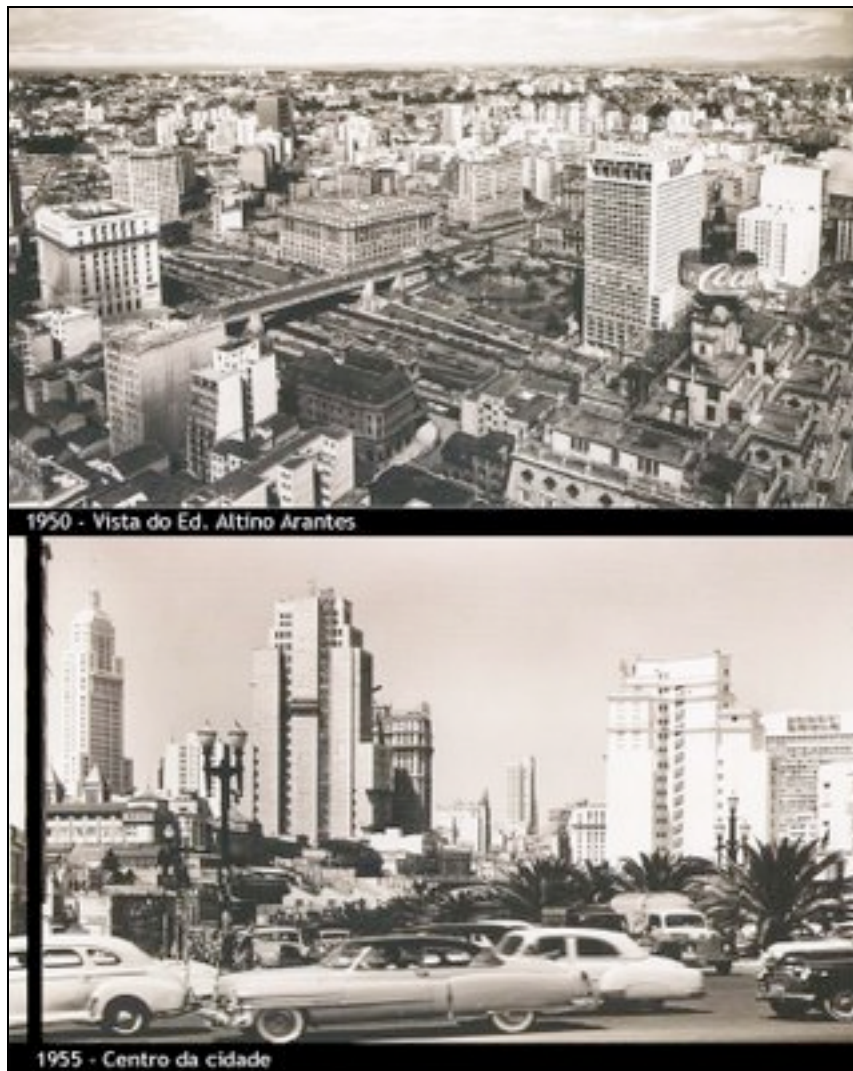
Abstract space, which acts as an instrument of domination, suffocates that what is originated and tends to depart from within itself. This characteristic is not enough to define it, but it's not secondary or accidental. A mortal space, it kills its own conditions (historical), its own differences (internal) and any (eventual) differences, and imposes an abstract homogeneity²¹⁷.

²¹⁵ According to Marx and Engels, “*ideology is not a conscious phenomenon, but rather an objective, involuntary and subjective one, produced by the objective conditions of the individuals' social existence.*” CHAUÍ, M. de S., 1981, p.76.

²¹⁶ FERNANDES, Florestan. 1976, p. 225.

²¹⁷ LEFEBVRE, Henry. *La production de l'espace*. 2nd edition. Paris: Éditions Anthropos, 1981, p.427, 430.

Fig 27: São Paulo in the 1950's



Source: www.favelization.com/2009/04/cinquenta-anos-e

Besides being homogeneous, abstract space is also characterized by fragmentation and hierarchy. Since the mid 1960s, the powers of hierarchy, homogenization and fragmentation have established a socio-spatial dynamics that well represents the different stages of São Paulo's massified social life.

5.2. ABSTRACT SPACE AND MASS SOCIETY

5.2.1. From the late 1960s to the first half of 1980s

During the period corresponding to what was called the ‘Brazilian miracle’, when side by side with exceptional economic growth there was an increase of income concentration and of poverty²¹⁸, São Paulo’s contribution to the national economy was impressive²¹⁹ and the city established itself as one of the ten fastest-growing metropolis in the world.

The huge increase in internal migration in Brazil was associated with the economic vigour of São Paulo during this period. Although groups from Minas Gerais, the Northeast and the interior of the state were those who moved most to São Paulo, there were also numerous migrants from the countryside²²⁰ and from cities all over the country²²¹.

During the 1970s, the huge concentration of industrial production in São Paulo reproduced and intensified a pattern of capitalism that associated economic growth with the pauperization of the workers. At the end of 1983, there were approximately 1.5 million unemployed in the Greater São Paulo²²² area, corresponding to 20% of the

²¹⁸ During the period of the called “Brazilian miracle”, as the economy grew 10% and productivity 33% per year, the average salary of half the workers fell 15%. See KOWARICK, L.; CAMPANÁRIO, M. A. *As lutas sociais e a cidade: São Paulo, passado e presente*. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1988, p. 29-46.

²¹⁹ In 1969, São Paulo contributed with 50% of Brazil’s industrial production. SCHAEFER, Kalmann & SPINDEL, Cheywa R. *São Paulo: Urban Development and Employment*. Hardcover Publisher: International Labour Office, 1976. p. 90.

²²⁰ Between the 1960s and the 1980s, the percentage of peasants in Brazil was reduced by half. See HOBSBAWM, Eric. *Era dos extremos: o breve século XX. 1914-1991*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1995.

²²¹ ROLNIK, Raquel, 2003, p. 44.

²²² At the end of the 1970s, Greater São Paulo had 36% of the country’s factory workers, almost 50% of the total wages, 40% of the capital for industrial transformation and investment, 70% of the value of transformation in transportation and electrical material, 55% of the products from mechanical industries, 60% of plastic and pharmaceutical industries – not to mention the presence of almost every other industrial sector. However, this immense concentration of industrial production fortified a pattern of capitalism that associated economic growth with the pauperization of the workers. As an example, in São Paulo, minimum wage decreased by approximately 50% in real terms between 1959 and 1986. Although only 12% of the workers of the Greater São Paulo area earned the minimum wage, this affected the salaries immediately above it. It’s important to note that if we add up all the sources of income of the workers of the Greater São Paulo area at the time, 57% “earned

economically active population. If the underemployed were included, this meant 40% of the labour force. The period was characterized by the huge growth of the informal (or parallel) economy, in which underemployed, unemployed and migrants from the countryside started to live on menial jobs, purchase, sale and robbery²²³.

Between the 1960s and the second half of 1980s, there was a huge expansion of the periphery and the size of the city grew nine-fold. Many cities, like Osasco, Taboão da Serra (in the west), Guarulhos (in the east) and the ABC (in the southwest), became attached to the São Paulo metropolitan region (conurbation)²²⁴.

Kowarick and Campanário defined this “peripheral pattern of urban growth” as:

a process of urban settlement that reserved the central, better equipped areas for the upper and middle classes, segregating the working classes to the multiple, distant and sparse peripheries of the Metropolis, particularly in the environs of railways and road intersections²²⁵.

In this way, the main characteristic of this harsh spatial expansion process was, undoubtedly, intense segregation: whilst the periphery was precariously constructed, massive public and private investments were made in the southwest region of the city, where historically, the richest social segments lived. From 1965 on, the municipal government built numerous and magnificent works in the southwest region. In addition, many neighbourhoods suffered a verticalization process carried out by private initiative. According to Kliass, the verticalization process was characterized not only by the substitution of family houses in well-established neighbourhoods, but also by the building of new ones destined to the upper middle and rich classes²²⁶.

up to three minimum salaries a month and 77% obtained up to 5 times this salary”. See KOWARICK, L.; CAMPANÁRIO, M. A., 1988, p. 37-9.

²²³ *Idem, Ibidem.*

²²⁴ ROLNIK, Raquel, 2003.

²²⁵ See KOWARICK, L.; CAMPANÁRIO, M. A., 1988, p. 40.

²²⁶ The verticalization began in the main centre. In the 1960s, the process expanded to the Paulista Avenue region; in the 1970s, to Faria Lima Avenue; later it spread all over the city. The process was characterized by the substitution of family houses in well-established neighbourhoods (like Higienópolis, Jardim Paulista, Pinheiros, Cerqueira César, Moema, Paraíso, Itaim, Vila Nova Conceição, Tatuapé, and others) and also by new areas destined to medium-high and upper classes: Morumbi and surroundings, Giovanni Gronchi Avenue and Real Parque. See: KLIASS, Rosa Grena, 1993 .p. 49

The middle classes also benefited from the verticalization process and from the continuous investments on traffic infrastructure. Besides being the most favoured by home loans²²⁷, the middle classes, by motorizing themselves, created the urban phenomenon that marked the period: the dissemination of the automobile in São Paulo.

Expressions of this were the policies put into practice since the Faria Lima administration (1965-1969), when numerous highways, bridges, overpasses and avenues were built, widened and opened, all destined to create a traffic system capable of accommodating a fleet of cars that had increased, over a 30-year period, from 160 thousand vehicles in 1960 to over than 3.6 million [in 1990]²²⁸.

During the 1970s, other spatial processes connected with spatial segregation were established, such as *favelização* (development of slums), the suburbanization of the elite and the creation of urban shopping malls.

If until the 1970s the number of inhabitants living in slums corresponded to approximately 1% of the city's total population, by the mid 1980s that number already exceeded 7%²²⁹. One of the major factors for the dissemination of slums was the decrease in the purchasing power of the workers. Also worth mentioning is the distance of the new peripheral, low-income neighbourhoods, leading people to install themselves in areas that were closer to where jobs could be found. In this way, the spatial distribution of slums and their growth by regions in the city expressed the disputes for localization²³⁰.

For the elites, the new suburbanization began by spreading westward, along the Castello Branco turnpike, with the division of Tamboré Farm into lots, resulting in

²²⁷ Between 1970 and 1974, 63% of the units financed by the Sistema Financeiro de Habitação (government-backed housing financial system) were for the middle class, 25% for the economic market and 12% for the population. See CALDEIRA, Teresa Pires do Rio, *Cidade de muros: crime, segregação e cidadania em São Paulo*. São Paulo: Edusp, 2000. p. 226.

²²⁸ KOWARICK, L.; BONDUKI, N. *As lutas sociais e a cidade: São Paulo, passado e presente*. Rio de Janeiro, 1994. p.159.

²²⁹ TASCHNER, S. P.; VERAS, M.P.B. *Evolução e mudança das favelas paulistanas*. São Paulo: Núcleo de Estudos Regionais e Urbanos, 1990. p.54

²³⁰ According to Villça, the specificity in the production of urban space is in the production of localities. The essence of such localities was not related to the presence of infrastructure, but to accessibility to the other regions of the city. See VILLÇA, Flávio J.M., 1998.

Alphaville residential district in the city of Barueri. This suburbanization signalled the abandonment of the city by the upper middle classes, who were looking for more security and better quality of life²³¹.

Spatial segregation had been connected to every process that marked the consolidation of abstract space in São Paulo. In this way, the dynamics of peripherization, verticalization, *favelização*, suburbanization of the elite etc. were all ways to hierarchize and fragment space and were all connected to the fundamental, homogenizing force of spatial segregation. Those processes converged and led to the collapse of an urban lifestyle and to the emergence of new patterns of sociability in São Paulo.

Although spatial segregation has been a visible phenomenon in the constitution of São Paulo's urban life since the period of consolidation of urban-commercial capitalism in the late 19th century, its role increased continuously during the expansion of competitive capitalism. In the late 1960s, however, when monopolistic capitalism acquired a structural character, spatial segregation radicalized and became a vehicle for the 'abstraction' of social space in São Paulo.

Among the processes that express the radicalization of spatial segregation and its impact on public life, we have the abandonment of the city centre by São Paulo's bourgeoisie.

As Villaça explains, spatial segregation had stimulated the expansion of the urban centre of the bourgeoisie towards the southwest since the 1930s. By the late 1950s, the centre of São Paulo was clearly divided by the Anhangabaú Valley in two parts: the part facing southwest, which started to be called '*Centro Novo*' (New Centre), was dominated by the elites, concentrating doctors' and business' offices and luxury commerce, while the old centre became '*Centro Velho*', targeted more to the lower income population²³². Both parts, however, were contiguous and connected by the Viaduto do Chá, which underwent major structural renovation in 1938. Permeable circulation between the two parts of the centre was retained, so that during the 1950s the centre of the city was still only one. According to Rolnik:

²³¹ See KLIASS, Rosa Grena, 1993. p.49.

²³² See VILLAÇA, Flávio J. M. 1998.

The cultural, economic and political life of all social groups of the metropolis shared a space that comprised, simultaneously, the filthy and the luxurious, headquarters of big companies and a throng of hucksters, greasers, ministers and preachers foreboding the end of times, the elegant stores of Barão de Itapetininga Street, the luxury apartments of São Luís Avenue and the so-called *treme-tremes*, buildings with overpopulated small flats (kitchenettes) in the lowlands of Glicério and Bela Vista²³³.

Fig 28: Viaduto do Chá : connection between the 'New Centre' and the 'Old Centre'



Source: www.sampa.art.br/historia/viadutocha/

The metropolis of the 1950s also consolidated subcentres, such as Brás, Penha, Pinheiros and others, but the true centre of the city, concentrated and convergent, had a symbolic importance that was unique for the citizens of the various regions and social classes of São Paulo.

But all that would change in the late 1960s, when the centre of the bourgeoisie was transferred to Paulista Avenue and Augusta Street. According to Villaça, the

²³³ ROLNIK, Raquel. 2003, p. 45.

centre simply skipped the entire region between Arouche Square and Paulista Avenue and was divided in two parts:

During the sixties, the vicinities of Paulista Avenue and Augusta Street were presented as the new centre of São Paulo.

However, the 'new' city centre was different from the previous one: it didn't reproduce an old version of the old centre, but was a new type of centre, atomized, fragmented, expanded, constituted by clouds of specialized areas mixed with various types of residential areas.

The main characteristic of a centre is the diversification of its commerce and services. The centre that appeared in the sixties in the Paulista-Augusta region was specialized: Paulista Avenue had cinemas, offices and banks; and Augusta had a limited variety of boutiques (...) The seed of a new type of centre had been planted and in less than two decades would bear fruit²³⁴.

In the mid 1960s, most of the old centre buildings were less than 40 years old, even though the region had already begun to be considered 'deteriorated'. The dissemination of the idea that the old centre was deteriorating was explained by Villaça as an ideological mechanism related to the naturalization of social processes. Another mechanism, frequently used by the dominant class, was the universalisation of its interests, which were considered as if they were the interests of society as a whole²³⁵.

Villaça explains that, during the 1960s and 1970s, the dominant class, in keeping with their interests, continued to intervene in the space because of the ideological use that was given to urban planning²³⁶. Global plans designed in that period were reduced to mere speeches, since there was no commitment to their execution, which meant they weren't connected with any actual public policy or concrete action of the State. Researches carried out with a global view of the city

²³⁴ See VILLAÇA, Flávio J. M., 1998. p. 265.

²³⁵ *Idem, Ibidem.*

²³⁶ VILLAÇA, Flávio J. M., 1999.

allowed government to relate to the masses in a clever way: while demonstrating an understanding of urban needs, it concealed the fact that its actions reaffirmed the fundamental process of spatial segregation.

Fig 29: Paulista Avenue in 1965



Source: www.hardmob.com.br/showthread.php?t=397932

In March 1969, mayor Faria Lima, at the end of an administration that had invested intensely in traffic infrastructure in noblest parts of the city, demanded the development of a super plan for the city of São Paulo, the *Plano Urbanístico Básico/ PUB* (Basic Urban Plan), characterized by extension and technical sophistication.

Another plan, the *Plano de Áreas Verdes de Recreação do Município* (Plan for Green Recreation Areas of the City), was developed from 1967 to 1969, proposing four categories of green recreation areas: vicinity parks, neighbourhood parks, sectorial parks and metropolitan parks. The plan intended to define an integrated system of parks, whereby the larger ones would offer the services of the smaller ones to people who lived in the surroundings. In this way, the sectorial parks, for people living up to 5 km away, offered the services that neighbourhood and vicinity parks offered (for population living 1000 and 500 metres away, respectively).

The system presented a total of 29 sectorial parks distributed along the urban net. Among them, some that already existed: Jaraguá, Horto Florestal, Ibirapuera and Carmo parks. The others were

variously located: three next to the Cantareira ridge, nine along the Tietê Valley, three close to the Guarapiranga and Billings water reservoirs; and the others were distributed near areas with significant vegetation.²³⁷

The PUB, as well as the Plan for Green Recreation Areas was rapidly ignored. In 1971, a new plan was designed. This time the simpler Plano Diretor de Desenvolvimento Integrado/PDDI (Integrated Development Master Plan) proposed objectives, enumerated policies and guidelines, and focused on establishing a system of green areas, including clubs, as another category of the System. As happened with the previous plans, the PDDI wasn't put into practice.

For all practical purposes, no systematic action to benefit parks, squares or public garden areas was undertaken in São Paulo until 1974. On the contrary, many existing park areas ended up swallowed by the traffic system, which was the case of D. Pedro II Park during Faria Lima's administration.

Fig 30: Parque D. Pedro II in 1930



Source: www.saojudasnu.blogger.com.br/2005_01_01_arch...

In a first moment, most of the park was substituted by avenues and a system of overpasses that connected Radial Leste Avenue with the Clóvis Bevilacqua Square. In 1971, with the beginning of construction work for the underground in the region, bus terminals were transferred to what still remained of the park – and devoured it.

²³⁷ KLIASS, Rosa Grena, 1993. p. 53.

According to Kliass, “In 1970, the system of overpasses was completed and, with it, came to an end the short history of D. Pedro II Park, whose history lasted less than 50 years. This park, which had such a difficult process of creation, would be destroyed in less than two years²³⁸”.

Between 1974 and 1982²³⁹, however, during a period of crisis in the finances of the city, twelve parks were built. It had become increasingly difficult for government to keep on ignoring the problem of the lack of green public spaces in São Paulo at a time when the city was expanding frantically and a fundamental new issue came to bear: in the 1970s, the ideal of leisure penetrated and disseminated throughout Brazil.

However, as Schreiber observed, the implantation by the government of some parks in São Paulo’s urban net between 1960 and 1982, a period marked by expansion and concentration, was not enough to prevent the city from being described by stereotypes such as “concrete jungle” or “grey city”²⁴⁰.

In fact, as Kliass stated, a process of destruction of the city’s parks potential²⁴¹ took place during that period. According to the author,

a wider analysis of the situation of green areas in São Paulo indicated, in 1984, the existence of 2,760 green units bigger than 250 m², totalling 37,733,374 m². If we consider a population of 9,718,258 people in 1984, there were 3.88 m² of green area per inhabitant: This level, very low in itself, becomes even more insignificant if we consider the geographic distribution of green areas and the size categories. Those parks, except Ibirapuera, were all located outside the large area of continuous urbanization;

²³⁸ KLIASS, Rosa Grena, 1993. p. 130.

²³⁹ Between 1974 and 1982, São Paulo gained the following parks: Guarapiranga (1974), Carmo (1976), Piqueri (1978), Vila dos Remédios (1979), Previdência (1979), Anhangüera (1979), São Domingos (1980), Nabuco (1980), Raposo Tavares (1981), Conceição (1981), Rodrigo Gaspari (1982) and the Parque Ecológico do Tietê (1982), the latter a State park.

²⁴⁰ SCHREIBER, Yara. *Domingo no parque. Um estudo da relação homem-natureza na metrópole paulistana*. Dissertation for Doctor’s Degree. Departamento de Ciências Sociais. Faculdade de Filosofia Letras e Ciências Humanas USP, 1997.

²⁴¹ In 1984, São Paulo had 23 areas that could be considered parks: five were State parks (Parque do Estado, Jaraguá, Horto Florestal, Ecológico do Tietê and Água Branca), two were squares (Praça Buenos Aires and Praça da República) and the other 16 were municipal parks (Luz, Siqueira Campos, Aclimação, Ibirapuera, Morumbi, Guarapiranga, Carmo, Anhangüera, Vila dos Remédios, São Domingos, Piqueri, Previdência, Nabuco, Raposo Tavares and Conceição. Those areas totalled 28,658,168 m², or 2.95 m² per inhabitant. See KLIASS, Rosa Grena, 1993. p. 56.

therefore, the city was not supplied with any significant green area²⁴².

Thus, the socio-spatial dynamics that emerged from the mid 1960s onward represented a loss of spatial reference for the bourgeois (liberal) ideal of life, whereby the centre, squares or parks had a public importance for the urban.

Although the new spatiality's homogenizing power tended to fragment and hierarchize, the potentialities of a liberal public life became evident in the urban context of the 1970s with the growth of popular movements²⁴³.

The popular movements of the 1970s managed to capture everyday life necessities at a time when the dictatorship obstructed the free interlocation of the channels of communication.

Fig 31: Praça da Sé in 1984 – 200.000 people in rally for democratic elections



Source: colunistas.ig.com.br/.../

²⁴² KLIASS, Rosa Grena, 1993:58.

²⁴³ When we speak of 'popular movements', we are talking about an admittedly Latin American category, which emerged in a time of political authoritarianism through the confluence of many other events, to refer to a vast range of movements of complaint referring to the 'badfare' State. See DOIMO, Ana Maria. *A vez e a voz do popular: movimentos sociais e participação política no Brasil pós 70*. Rio de Janeiro: Relume. Dumará/ANPOCS, 1995.

Resistance to the oppression imposed by the military regime and the survival in the middle of the economic crisis at the end of the 70's stimulated the emergence of social movements of resistance, such as strikes that struggled against misery, hunger and wage squeeze.

5.2.2. From the second half of 1980s to the late 2000s

In the second half of 1980's, other demands began forging the dynamics and the perspectives of popular movements. In the context of the re-democratization of Brazil and the drafting of a new Constitution in 1988, the possibility of democratic participation stimulated the expansion and action of social movements, which now were better organized.

Created by progressive sectors of the Catholic Church and by the leadership of popular movements, as a manifestation against dictatorship, the National Movement for Urban Reform (Movimento Nacional pela Reforma Urbana – MNRU) started to agglutinate, in the 1980s, the whole gamut of movements and proposals related to urban issues. With the support of technicians and advisors of social movements, as well as intellectuals and university professors, the Movement was engaged in politicizing urban problems, denouncing and criticizing socio-spatial inequality.

The involvement of the MNRU was very important in the development of the 'Estatuto da Cidade' (City Statute), name given to the chapter of the Federal Constitution of 1988 that discusses urban policies. The conflict of interests and the controversies aroused by the content of this statute caused bill No. 5,788 to travel a long and slow road in Congress. Eleven years went by between the elaboration of the project and its approval by the Commission for Internal and Urban Development (Comissão de Desenvolvimento Urbano e Interior – CDUI) in late 1999. In the following year, the bill was sanctioned by the Commission for Constitution and Justice (Comissão de Constituição e Justiça – CCJ) with no amendments. In early 2001, the project was finally approved by the House of Representatives and returned to Senate, where it was unanimously approved by the Commission for Social Issues (Comissão de Assuntos Sociais). Thus, on July 10, 2001, the 'City Statute' was

sanctioned by the President, who vetoed only a specific instrument for land regularization²⁴⁴.

The ‘City Statute’, enacted on October 10, 2001, is considered a potent instrument in the urban transformation process, because it proposes a social role for urban property, institutes popular participation in administrative decisions and creates mechanisms for housing regularization.

According to Rolnik:

The innovations included in the Statute are three-fold: a set of urban instruments to induce – more than regulate – forms of land occupation; a new management strategy that incorporates the idea of direct citizen participation in decision processes related to the future of the city; and an expansion of the possibilities of urban land regulation, which, up to the present day, is dealt with in very ambiguous ways, based on the idea of legal vs. illegal.²⁴⁵

By delegating the implementation of urban reforms and offering a innovative set of instruments for intervening in land issues, the Statute determined that a Master Plan was a requirement in cities with more than 20 thousand inhabitants and in cities with less the 20 thousand inhabitants but are part of metropolitan areas, urban agglomerations or regions of economic, environmental or tourist importance.

In São Paulo, the bill that regulates the Strategic Master Plan of the City (Plano Diretor Estratégico do Município –PDE) was enacted in 2002. In 2006-2007, the Plan was revised.

We do not intend here to critically assess the impact of the Statute and the Master Plan over São Paulo. However, our interest in observing the processes that characterized the public-private dynamics of socio-spatial development in São Paulo over the last twenty years leads us to mention an analysis by Villaça in “As ilusões do Plano Diretor” (The Illusions of the Master Plan). According to the author, spatial

²⁴⁴ SILVA, Eder Roberto da. *O movimento nacional pela reforma urbana e o processo de democratização do planejamento urbano no Brasil*. Dissertation for Master’s Degree. São Carlos: Programa de Pós-Graduação em Engenharia Urbana. Centro de Ciências Exatas e de Tecnologia. Universidade Federal de São Carlos, 2003.

²⁴⁵ ROLNIK, Raquel. *Estatuto da cidade. Instrumento para as cidades que sonham crescer com justiça e beleza*. In: <http://www.estatutodacidade.org.br/estatuto/artigo1.html>. Accessed on August 25, 2008.

segregation still determines São Paulo's socio-geographical organization. He explains that:

What happened lately is that the area of the Quadrante Sudoeste (Southeast Quadrant) has been expanding and the region has been growing bigger and bigger; nevertheless, the growth of higher income neighbourhoods persists, mainly within the Southeast Quadrant.²⁴⁶

In another essay, Villaça mentions that an important aspect of São Paulo's spatial segregation in the last twenty years relates to the centre of the city. If, in the mid-1960s, the city's bourgeoisie abandoned the traditional centre and adopted Paulista Avenue as the new centrality, the ensuing dispersion of the central area far beyond Paulista Avenue (towards Faria Lima Avenue, Luís Carlos Berrini Avenue and the Pinheiros Riverside Expressway) has made São Paulo *sui-generis* metropolitan centre in Brazil. From the 1980s on, the delimitation of such a huge central area was highly controversial and complex²⁴⁷.

For Teresa Pires do Rio Caldeira, São Paulo in the 1990s was more diverse and fragmented than in the 1970s due to the dissemination of the so-called 'fortified enclaves' throughout the urban net. Using as an excuse the need for protection against violence, São Paulo was turning into a city of walls. The author relates this phenomenon to other urban processes. Thanks to the pressure from social movements in the late 1990s, some peripheral regions improved considerably. At the same time, with the impoverishment caused by the economic crisis of 1980s, buying a house in the periphery was becoming a less viable alternative for poor workers. São Paulo, therefore, was becoming an increasingly 'slumified' a metropolis.²⁴⁸

Rolnik agrees that, in the global economic scenario, the urban net is becoming increasingly fragmented. Discussing the impact of 'de-industrialization' in the spatial organization of the city, the author states:

²⁴⁶ VILLAÇA, Flávio J. Magalhães. *As Ilusões do Plano Diretor*. São Paulo, 2005.

²⁴⁷ VILLAÇA, Flávio J. Magalhães. 1998, p. 216.

²⁴⁸ CALDEIRA, Teresa Pires do Rio. *Cidade de muros: crime, segregação e cidadania em São Paulo* São Paulo: Edusp and Editora 34, 2000.

As industries leave the city, the neighbourhoods where they were located can be used for residential, commercial or leisure purposes. However, new tertiary mega-investments, such as shopping malls and hypermarkets, which are being built in those older areas, have been fragmenting the urban-social net, establishing veritable urban enclaves and imposing a negative impact on traditional shopping and services centres.²⁴⁹

Such “de-industrialization”, however, must be analysed with caution, says the author, because Brazilian industry is still highly concentrated in the state of São Paulo and in the metropolitan region of its capital, the city of São Paulo. The capital is still responsible for third of the aggregate value of the state’s industry. On one hand, the metropolitan region’s share in the industrial force of the state of São Paulo decreased from 64% in 1980 to 52% in 1990, while the city’s fell from 36% to 22% in the same period. On the other hand, São Paulo has not only preserved a wide and diversified old-city industrial base, but also attracted, over the last decades, new and important industrial investments, mainly in publishing and printing, computers and internet, chemicals and pharmaceuticals, and food. Therefore, although industry has not disappeared, the transformations in industrialization were quite visible, not only regarding their spatial organization, but also in the structure of jobs. The reduction in the number of industries and the innovations in administrative and manufacturing processes, supported by new technologies, have brought a significant decrease in job offerings, causing a progressive increase in unemployment. If, in 1990, 10% of the total population was formally employed in industrial establishments, in 1995 that figure was cut in half. Although the service sector has absorbed part of the available labour force, jobs created by the tertiary sectors have a different characteristic: at the same time they increase the demand for top executives, consulting services, technical assistance, financial market operators and qualified researchers, they also increase the percentage of low-wage jobs, such as cleaners, office aids, waiters and, above all, ‘microentrepreneurs’ who work, mainly, in the informal economy.²⁵⁰

Such an increase in the extreme opposites of the income structure abets the multiplication of enclaves of poverty and wealth that, incorporated by the determining

²⁴⁹ ROLNIK, Raquel, 2003. p. 63-64.

²⁵⁰ *Idem, Ibidem.*

and homogenizing spatial segregation process, characterizes São Paulo's public-private dynamics over the last twenty years.

As previously mentioned, the urban space has been losing importance as the *locus* of an ideal of bourgeois life since the 1930s and becoming more and more the facilitating medium of the daily life of the middle classes. The option for a road-traffic model in the 1940s and the motorization of the middle classes in the 1960s contributed to the creation in the following decade of a traffic system in keeping with the capitalist need of transporting goods and people, a system that became the heart and soul of common use space in São Paulo.

Forms of space fragmentation and hierarchization leading to spatial segregation, including peripherization, verticalization, formation of slums and the suburbanization of the elite, converged in the collapse of old patterns of sociability and common use of urban space. A good example was the historical centre, which was abandoned by the city's elite. The dislocation and diffusion of the central area beyond Paulista Avenue turned São Paulo, after the 1980s, into a metropolis with a complex (because fragmented and dispersed) centrality. While the old centre remains lively, having been appropriated by lower income sectors of society, the elites circulate around the new centralities in the southwest region, where space for common use is produced parsimoniously. Besides stipulating minimal dimensions for sidewalks, the design of the new centralities dissipate contact among strangers by rejecting the mixed-use neighbourhoods and favouring the multifunctional occupation of business towers.

In fact, from the 1980s on, these spaces began being built in such a way as to systematically avoid contact between the city's different social universes. In this context, we saw the dissemination of enclaves protected security systems, such as private residential developments (horizontal or vertical condominiums), office buildings, shopping malls, hypermarkets etc.

In the condominiums, besides sports courts and swimming pools, the existence of gym clubs and green areas have become an important 'differential'. In an age when ecological issues (more talked about than acted upon, to be sure) are constantly mentioned in the media, the value of green areas seems to be growing in different social environments.

Going to parks was still an important leisure option in São Paulo at the end of the 20th century, as Bartalini showed in a research commissioned by the Serviço Social do Comércio (Commerce Social Service – SESC) in 1996. With regard to green areas, only 30% of the interviewees stated they never visited them. The favourite areas were Ibirapuera Park, Carmo Park and the Horto Florestal. In the same survey, answers to the question ‘What would you do on your day off?’ showed that 13% would go to a park, 12% would travel, 5% would go to the movies, 4% to a shopping mall and 4% would practice some sport. Another question, on where the interviewee would take a friend who had just arrived in São Paulo, elicited the following answers: parks (22%); shopping malls (16%); tourist spots, such as downtown and Paulista Avenue (11%); nightclubs (7%); restaurants (6%).²⁵¹

In the 1980s and 1990s, the rise of ecological concerns in São Paulo led to a reformulation of the public departments connected to green areas or environmental questions. The mottos of quality of life and sustainability also guided the work of a variety of NGOs that emerged in that period. Yet, in the last twenty years, the creation of public parks in São Paulo has not been guided by any plan or systematic project. According to a survey by Burgos²⁵², the public parks that were created in that period corresponded to areas that were repossessed by the municipality as a result of the creation of private developments. Due to this, the parks opened in the 1990s and 2000s were much smaller than those of the 1970s and 1980s, originated by expropriation because of landscaping potential or physical-natural attributes. Between 1974 and 1981, eleven parks were opened and only three were less than 7 hectares (17 acres). Six of them were between 8 and 20 hectares (20 and 50 acres) and two were much larger, Carmo Park, with 150 hectares (370 acres) and Anhanguera Park, a natural reserve of 978 hectares (2,417 acres)²⁵³. From 1987 on, thirteen parks were opened. Ten were less than 7 hectares and only three had between 10 and 13 hectares (25 and 32 acres), including the Burle Marx Park, a special case of articulation between the public and private sectors.

²⁵¹ BARTALINI, Vladimir. *Parques públicos municipais de São Paulo*. Dissertation for Doctor's Degree. Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo / FAUUSP, São Paulo, 1999. p. 117

²⁵² BURGOS, Rosalina. *Parques públicos urbanos na metrópole paulistana*. Dissertation for Master's Degree. Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo / FAUUSP, São Paulo, 2003.

²⁵³ *Idem, Ibidem*. p.95.

The Burle Marx Park was created when the real state developers of the Projeto Urbanístico Panamby and Villagio Panamby donated 20% of their total area, which was 715,000 m², to the municipality. The same investment funds that made the development viable, considered the biggest ever launched in Brazil, were responsible for financing the public space. The area reserved for the Park incorporated the gardens of Tangará farm, designed by Burle Marx in the 1950s. In 1995, Rosa G. Kliass and Luciano Fiaschi developed the Burle Marx Park project, deemed one of São Paulo's most beautiful contemporary landscape designs. In the same year, the city government signed an agreement with the Aaron Birman Foundation, which obtained the permission to manage the park for twenty five years. Since then, the use of the park has been the most restricted among all of the city's parks. According to Bartalini:

Bill No. 35,537, of September 1995, which regulates its use, meets the needs of those who were responsible for the real state development, who intended to preserve the elitist character of the park, avoiding the presence of people who do not live in the condominiums being built around it. In the park, among other things, it is forbidden to bring animals, have picnics and barbecues, and practice any sport except jogging.²⁵⁴

On the other hand, in the parks opened in the same period in the periphery, such as Jardim da Felicidade (in Pirituba), Santo Dias Park (in Capão Redondo) or Santa Amélia Park (in Itaim Paulista) the situation was very different, as Burgos²⁵⁵ observed in his research. The signs of spatial segregation went beyond poor infrastructure, broken equipments and destroyed plants

To be sure, spatial segregation, in its various aspects, is connected with a multi-faceted urban culture that is fragmented in multiple paradoxes. The São Paulo of the enclaves is also the city of urban tribes that circulate all night long. The city of the anarchic centre is also the city of gelid business poles. The city of the social movements is also the city of violence.

²⁵⁴ BARTALINI, Vladimir. 1999. p. 127.

²⁵⁵ *Idem, Ibidem.*

6. The Ibirapuera Park

6.1. FROM HYGIENISM TO DEVELOPMENTALISM ²⁵⁶

As previously mentioned, the Avenues Plan ('Plano de Avenidas'), developed by engineer Prestes Maia, marks a transition period during which the infra-structural works prevailed over those of 'embellishment and improvements' that led to São Paulo's bourgeois public spaces during the establishment of a competitive social order.

Despite the existence of an embellishment trend in Avenues Plan, the infra-structural works – involving mainly the road and transportation systems –are approached in an innovative and comprehensive way.²⁵⁷

In the Appendix of the plan, Prestes Maia presents a project to build a park in the Ibirapuera marshlands.²⁵⁸ In fact, this project had already been discussed when mayor Pires do Rio took the office in 1926 and Prestes Maia was the city's Secretary of Roads and Public Works.

²⁵⁶ In spite of the imprecision and arbitrariness that can surround historical reconstructions, José Luis Fiori states that it is possible to situate the birth of Latin American "developmentism" in México, in the 1930s. The nationalist government of President Lázaro Cárdenas carried out a radical agrarian reform, nationalized petroleum production, created the first State-run banks for industrial and foreign trade development, invested in infra-structure, implemented industrialization policies etc. The same author says that Cárdenas' programme became a paradigm for many Latin American governments. That is truly the case of Vargas in Brazil, Perón in Argentina, Velasco Ibarra in Ecuador and Paz Estenssoro in Bolivia, among others. Although most of them were conservative, their ideas and policies became a reference for the Latin American left. In Brazil, the conservative developmentism of Vargas was only accepted by the left in the 1950s, particularly in the government of Juscelino Kubitschek. See: Fiori, José Luís. *Vôo da coruja: uma leitura não liberal da crise do estado desenvolvimentista*. Rio de Janeiro: Eduerj, 1995.

Carlos Lessa reminds us that although Brazilian developmentism had a stake on change, expected to start with the urbanization of the metropolises, it was extremely conservative in its approach to agrarian matters. National-developmentism's project focused on industrialization and social modernization through urbanization. See: Lessa, Carlos. *A estratégia de desenvolvimento, 1974/76: sonho e fracasso*. Universidade Estadual de Campinas Instituto de Economia, 1998.

²⁵⁷ VILLAÇA, Flávio J. Magalhães, 1999. p.169-243.

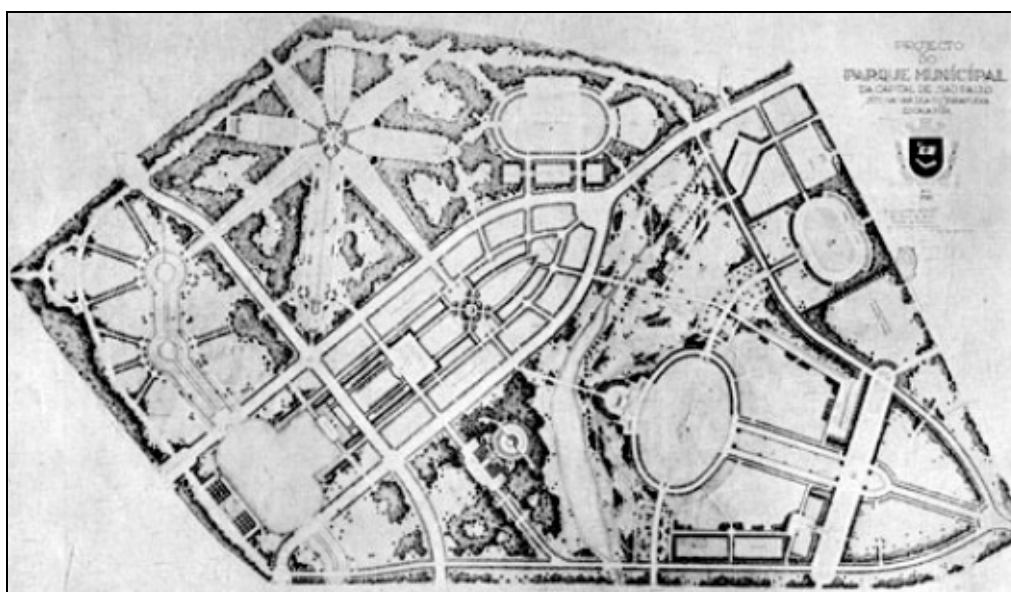
²⁵⁸ MAIA, Francisco Prestes. *Plano de avenidas para a cidade de São Paulo*. São Paulo: Melhoramentos, 1930.

The Appendix, a proposal for a system of green areas that included four large parks²⁵⁹ and seven medium-size ones²⁶⁰, explains that large parks had been favoured because of their aesthetic and traffic relevance to the arterial plan.

It is symptomatic that gardened areas and free spaces are featured only in the Appendix of the plan. Besides the great parks, gardens and playgrounds are also considered in the plan, but as elements that might potentially ease urban circulation by taking the children away from the streets.²⁶¹

The type of land remodelling conceived in the Avenues Plan reinforced the segregational ideology in urban constitution. In his report on Ibirapuera Park, Prestes Maia justified the need to be dealt with more carefully and artfully than the other great parks: ‘Its more central location, its proximity to upper class neighbourhoods, its moderate landscape and its artificial character incite such care and art, for all is yet to be done there.’²⁶²

Fig 32: Ibirapuera Park Project, Design of Dieberger's Office, 1929



Source: www.arquiamigos.org.br/info/info04/index.html

²⁵⁹ Among the great parks, the major focus was Parque das Cabeceiras do Ypiranga, that comprised a 6,315 m² area. Besides this one, other great parks were Ibirapuera, Cantareira and Alto da Serra. See: MAIA, Francisco Prestes, 1930

²⁶⁰ Among the medium-sized parks were Parque do Pary, Parque da Moóca and Parque da Ponte Grande. Tatuapé and Lapa also, but they would be sports activities parks by the River Tietê. Parque Butantã next to the small state garden, and the Aclimação, to be installed in the existing place, were only mentioned. See Maia, Francisco Prestes, 1930.

²⁶¹ MAIA, Francisco Prestes, 1930, Appendix. p. 339-349.

²⁶² *Idem, Ibidem.* p. 341.

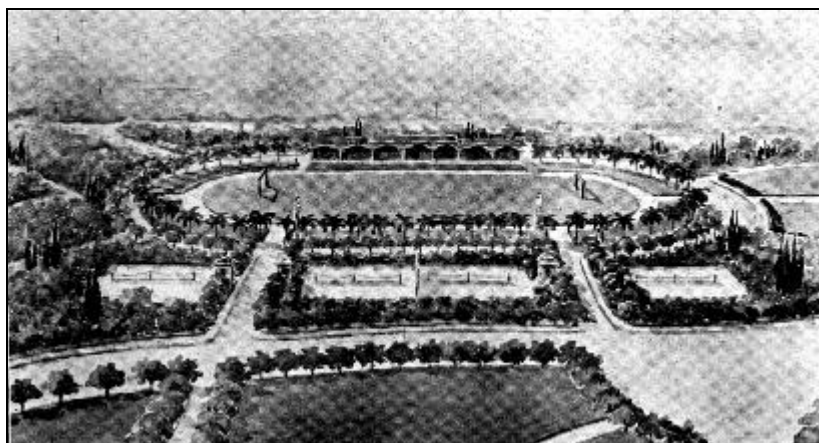
The study of the Ibirapuera Park project figures in the Avenues Plan as a drawing, signed by architect-landscapist Reinaldo Dierberger, who had developed a pilot-project of the park in 1929. Incorporating German landscape trends of that time, Dierberger's idea for Ibirapuera was also influenced by the axial compositions of the formal French gardens and by the picturesque English tree-and-lawn formations. His study also took on a sanitarian responsibility that included fitness equipment for sports activities similar to the German way of 'active leisure'.²⁶³

Fig 33: Central Axis of Ibirapuera Park Project, 1929



Source: www.arquiamigos.org.br/info/info04/index.html

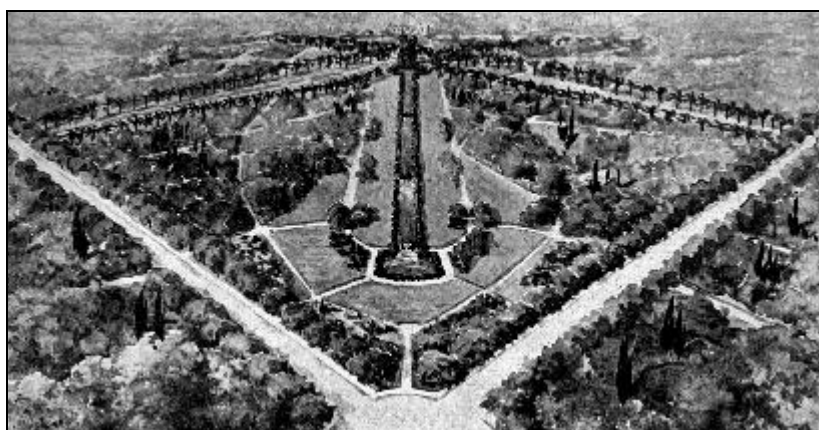
Fig 34: Stadium Project, 1929



Source: www.arquiamigos.org.br/info/info04/index.html

²⁶³ ANDRADE, Manuella Marianna. O processo de formação do Parque do Ibirapuera. *Revista do Arquivo Municipal*. São Paulo, v.204, 2006. p.49-65.

Fig 35: Central Axis of Ibirapuera Park Project, 1929



Source: www.arquiamigos.org.br/info/info04/index.html

The idea of building the park in the late 1920s was brought upon by the fact that the Ibirapuera marshlands were a huge public domain area²⁶⁴ in a privileged location, at least since the land remodelling carried out by Companhia City²⁶⁵. According to mayor Pires do Rio's 1927 report:

(...) the plots of land within the Invernada dos Bombeiros and the Ibirapuera Farm can be admirably used for the construction of a huge garden or park with an area as large as London's Hyde Park or half the size of the Bois de Boulogne in Paris (...) This vast extension of public bare land lies at a ten-minute streetcar ride from Liberdade or Higienópolis, in the Vila Mariana and Jardim América neighbourhoods. There is an urge to have a vast park to be enjoyed by the urban population.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁴ In 1890, the Ibirapuera marshlands, having no living owners or legal heirs were considered city property and, as such, their ownership was returned to the municipality. In 1916, state decree nº 2,669, turned this land into official city property. See ANDRADE, Manuella Marianna, 2006. p. 49-65.

²⁶⁵ In 1915, Companhia City, a construction company, had created the elite Jardim América neighbourhood in the areas surrounding the Ibirapuera.

²⁶⁶ PIRES DO RIO, J. *A construção de um grande parque*. See City of São Paulo. Report presented in 1926 by Dr. J. Pires do Rio, Mayor of the City of São Paulo. São Paulo: Works Section of *O Estado de São Paulo*, 1927, p. 10.

Fig 36: Várzea do Ibirapuera in 1890



Source: theurbaneearth.wordpress.com/.../

If nine years earlier mayor Washington Luis had approved the division of a huge plot within city limits²⁶⁷, there certainly were better reasons behind the idea of constructing a park in that area, so full of potential in real estate terms.

According to the urban ideal of life then in vogue, establishing a park in the marshlands of Ibirapuera would secure salubrity and avoid random repossessions in that newly-founded prime real estate area. All this would lead to the enhancement of both the elite features of that area and of its value. In this sense, the interests of all the people concerned – namely, the Public Office and the residents of the neighbourhood – were focused on building the park. And Dierberger's project mirrored these ideas, inasmuch as he considered urban embellishments as well as sanitary issues.

Mayor Pires do Rio took measures to enlarge the area of the park, making initial improvements and preventing trespassing. In 1927, through an exchange programme, the 'Invernada dos Bombeiros' was moved from the Ibirapuera municipal area to a plot of land in Água Branca, where the Municipal Greenhouse was located.

²⁶⁷ Jardim Lusitania was approved by Law nº 2.122 in 1918.

The establishment of this greenhouse at Ibirapuera marks the beginning of the draining of its large marshlands area.

Entomologist Manuel Lopes de Oliveira – also known as Manequinho Lopes – was put in charge of the greenhouse and co-ordinated the planting of Australian eucalyptuses in the Ibirapuera marshlands. However, lawsuits by disputed landowners managed to postpone the implementation of the park.

In his 1930 Avenues Plan, Prestes Maia wanted to include the so-called Ibirapuera Park in municipal lands into the road system designed by Reinaldo Dierberger whose office should take responsibility for developing and detailing a new project. According to the plan, Ibirapuera Park would encompass 2,000,000 m² and consist of two distinct parts separated by a land plotting scheme approved by mayor Washington Luiz, and be built in ‘garden-city’ fashion. Being nearer to the upper class residences and more central, the larger area would receive a more refined treatment, whereas the smaller part would be designed for recreation and aquatic sports (taking advantage of a natural depression flooded by a lake). Parkways would make the connection between the two parts, following the North American style.²⁶⁸

The first project for Ibirapuera Park²⁶⁹ was made official in 1932, under the administration of Goffredo Teixeira da Silva Teles, concomitantly with the determination to transfer the São Paulo Jockey Club, located in the Moóca neighbourhood, to Ibirapuera. After approval, the project was developed by Reinaldo Dierberger in 1932, upon request of the mayor.

In this new plan, the monumental proportions, perspectives and boulevards are more modest than in the 1929 project, in which the leisure spaces were more ample. The architect-landscapist in charge tried to adapt the earlier version to the present reality, respecting both the existing roadways and the ones to be implemented. He, however, still ignored the street plan and the constructions in the land plots that had been approved in 1918 and readily incorporated into the park study by Prestes Maia. The area meant for the Jockey Club appears in the project, whose sports, entertainment and cultural areas are organised so as to form a set of groves,

²⁶⁸ ANDRADE, Manuella Marianna, 2006. p. 53.

²⁶⁹ The Act of July 29, 1932 incorporated Law 3256 (from January 21, 1929) that established that the building of the park would be paid for by the city. Supplementary credit should not be opened. ANDRADE, Manuella Marianna, 2006.

promenades, streets, lakes and avenues. At the same time, the buildings had their aesthetics updated in Art Deco style, the architectural trend of the time.²⁷⁰

Fig 37: Projeto de Dierberger de 1932



Source: www.vitruvius.com.br/revistas/read/arquitextos/05.051/553

However, a disagreement between Reinaldo Dierberger and the team of technicians from the Constructions Department (involving sewers and rainwater outlets) led to a breach of contract with the Public Office in 1933, despite the land levelling works that were already under way at Ibirapuera. Thus, in that same year, another park project was approved.²⁷¹

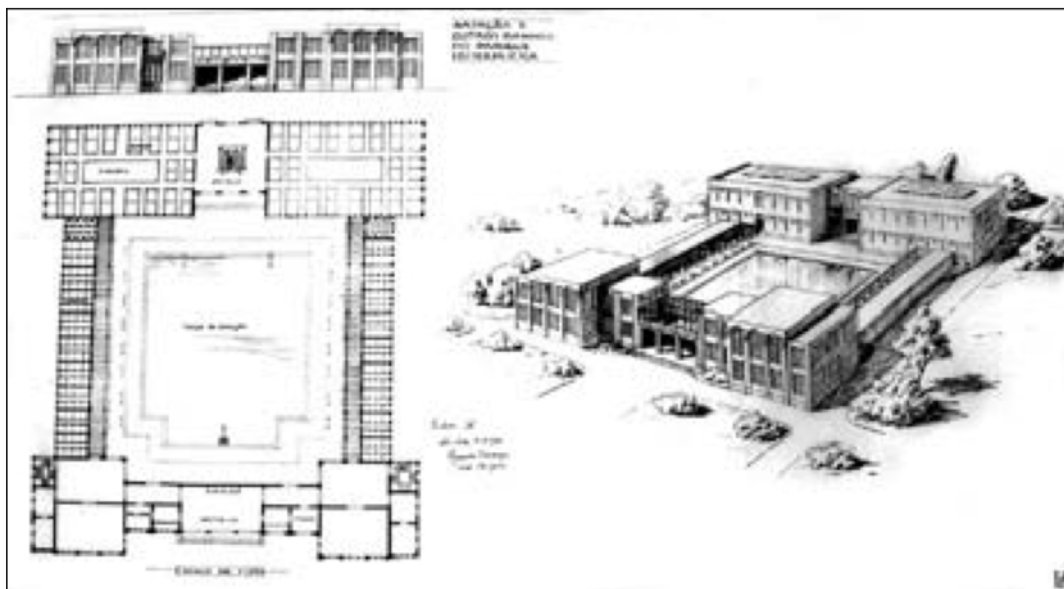
In spite of its title, ‘Ibirapuera Park Project Review’, there were new proposals for occupying the area and for the architecture of the buildings. This project avowedly respected the works that had already been initiated, the extension of Abílio Soares street and Brasil Avenue. The main focus of the initial design was a set of pools, a casino, a square and a rose garden, all on the same level so as to create a proper perspective. The lakes, however, would shrink; the lower stream would be canalised,

²⁷⁰ ANDRADE, Manuella Marianna, 2006.

²⁷¹ On May 11, 1933.

running in open air only the distance necessary to feed the water mirror next to the theatre. Dierberger's projects had no structural characteristics and no defined stylistic trend, despite criticism from engineer Marcial Fleury de Oliveira.²⁷²

Fig 38: Dierberger project for swimming bath in Ibirapuera lowlands.



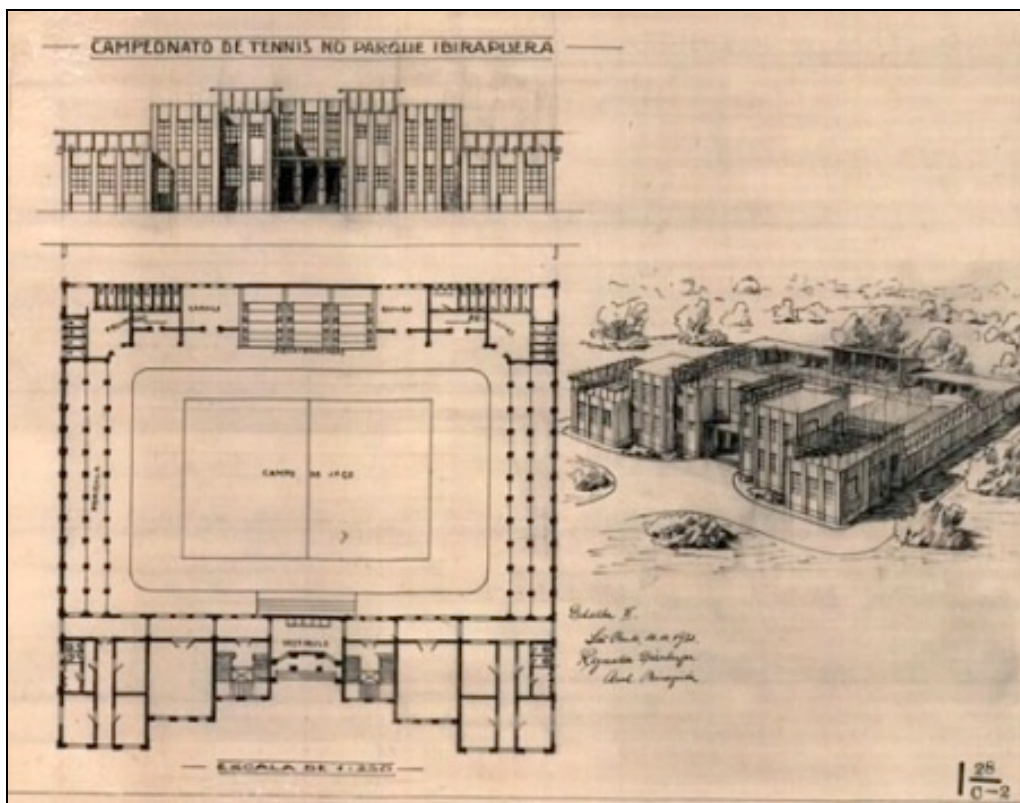
Source: www.vitruvius.com.br/revistas/read/arquitextos/05.051/553

Both Dierberger's projects and the 1933 review posed a delicate question: the greenhouse, which had been transferred to Ibirapuera during Pires do Rio's administration, was not included into the park plan. Correspondence between Manequinho Lopes, who was in charge of the greenhouse, and mayor Fabio Prado (who was an admirer of his works) reveals the indignation of a professional who had worked so hard to drain the marshlands of the park. Manequinho would later see this situation change when he was made Chief of the Parks and Gardens Division in Fabio Prado's administration. In a legal procedure on December 1934, he requested an area for the greenhouse within the Ibirapuera grounds, suggesting a change in the Park's project.²⁷³

²⁷² ANDRADE, Manuella Marianna, 2006. p.53.

²⁷³ Manequinho Lopes claimed that the Ibirapuera would benefit from the greenhouse because it would need various plants that might be sown and transplanted in due time. See OLIVEIRA, Fabiano Lemes de. *Projetos para o Parque do Ibirapuera: de Manequinho Lopes à Niemeyer (1926-1954)*. Dissertation for Master's Degree. Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo da Universidade de São Paulo/ FAUUSP. São Paulo, 2003. Mimeographed copy.

Fig 39: Tennis court project for Ibirapuera



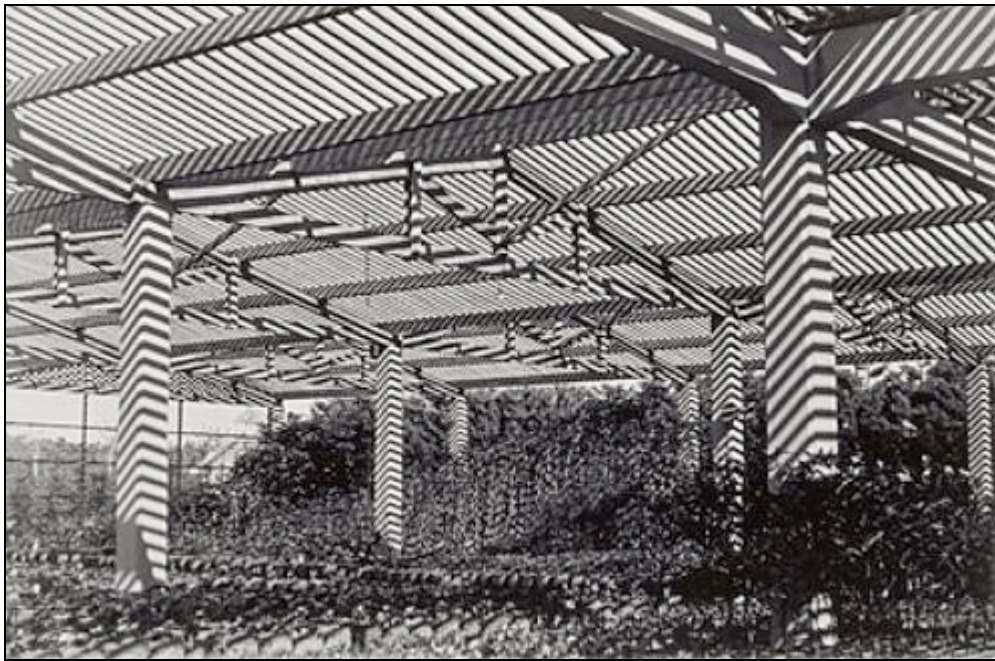
Source: www.vitruvius.com.br/revistas/read/arquitextos/05.051/553

Fig 40: Project for Ibirapuera in 1933



Source: : www.vitruvius.com.br/revistas/read/arquitextos/05.051/553

Fig 41: Manequinho Lopes Vivarium in 1948 / Photo by Benedito J. Duarte



Source: site.pirelli.14bits.com.br/autores/135/obra/476

As a result, in 1935, with the consent of engineer J. Cintra, head of the Public Works Division, engineer Werner Hacker developed another project for Ibirapuera Park. This new project altered the 1933 location of the buildings, with the exception of the theatre. It included the greenhouse – benefited by the cession of an open area previously meant for fireworks displays – and excluded the Jockey Club, which would be replaced by a vast area for sports activities near the lakes. The negotiations to move the Moóca Jockey Club to Ibirapuera Park ran into complications in 1932 and 1933. The Jockey Club demanded a fee from the city to cover the full value of the land and expenses incurred with improvements. Having allegedly made improvements of approximately 1000 contos de réis (the currency at the time), the Club estimated the lands in Moóca were worth four times more than the ones in Ibirapuera. But this demand was unfounded, since the Jockey Club had already benefited from an area twice as big in a prime location.²⁷⁴

The justification for not including the Jockey Club (as anticipated in the 1935 description of the project) stemmed from arguments presented by the Sociedade Amigos da Cidade (SAC), a not-for-profit association that gathered urbanists,

²⁷⁴ BARONE, Ana Cláudia Castilho. *Ibirapuera: parque metropolitano (1926-1954)*. Doctor's Degree Thesis. Architecture and Urbanism School of Universidade de São Paulo/ FAUUSP, 2007. p.77. Mimeographed copy.

engineers, lawyers and politicians interested in discussing development and planning issues in São Paulo. Two São Paulo urban planners, Prestes Maia and Anhaia Mello, chaired the SAC discussions. In spite of having clearly opposing viewpoints regarding the growth of the city, these urbanists agreed on the need for a Master Plan for São Paulo, in which zoning would be a major tool. Between 1934 and 1937, there was a debate on the creation of free spaces in more densely populated areas of the city.

In this sense, the function of free spaces would be ‘upgraded’: they would now control urban growth through zoning.²⁷⁵ The theme of the first meeting of the SAC was the transference of the Jockey Club to Ibirapuera. According to O Estado de São Paulo newspaper, Anhaia Mello interrupted the initial debate about the Society’s bylaws since he insisted on highlighting his opinion about the Ibirapuera issues:

Dr. Anhaia Mello investigated the case from an urbanist’s viewpoint, saying that it would be an attack on the city’s heritage to turn the free spaces of the existing meadow into constructed space, (...) for São Paulo is a truly poor city when it comes to free spaces.²⁷⁶

Initially, both the Public Office and the press’ prevailing opinions were against the urbanist, but this state of things changed shortly after. Motivated by the ideas of the SAC members, public opinion adhered to the campaign against transferring the Jockey Club to Ibirapuera – even if, at first, this move was needed to free space for the local people in Moóca.

This position was confirmed when a feasibility study for the construction of an airport within the Ibirapuera area was made public in 1935. The SAC urbanists united vehemently against this proposal. The methods used to assess the matter were new and they wanted to bring a scientific approach on behalf of the park. The investigation on the importance of free spaces for the people and for the city, and a comparison with the international context were the foundation of the SAC’s argument, according

²⁷⁵ BARONE, Ana Cláudia Castilho. *Ibirapuera: parque metropolitano (1926-1954)*. Doctor’s Degree Thesis. Architecture and Urbanism School of Universidade de São Paulo/ FAUUSP, 2007. p.69. Mimeographed copy.

²⁷⁶ *Idem, Ibidem*.p.76.

to which the municipal area of Ibirapuera should be used entirely as a public park. As a final argument, the SAC representatives consolidated their opinion:

The works in the park, resumed vigorously by the last mayor, have been carried out successfully. It won't be long until they come to a completion with the delivery of this unique enterprise for public use and enjoyment.²⁷⁷

However, documents and aerial photographs of the time testify that only part of the main roadway network was implemented during Fabio Prado's time in office. Most of those buildings, promenades and gardens were never built. In 1937, not only did the debate on the park fade out but also the intention to build it. The heated discussions about free urban spaces aroused by the SAC did not influence Prestes Maia's actions as mayor (1938-1945).

In his mandate as mayor, Prestes Maia prioritised the execution of the roadway network specified in the Avenues Plan. In this sense, the park (which, according to him, 'justified the need to be dealt with more carefully and artfully, due to its more central location, its proximity to upper class neighbourhoods...' ²⁷⁸) received no municipal investments. During that time, only the state government provided some infra-structural works to two existing preservation parks: Parque do Estado (the State Park, south of the Ipiranga embankment) and Horto Florestal (to the north, in the Cantareira Hills).

In his famed 1945 report, 'Os Melhoramentos de São Paulo', ²⁷⁹ Prestes Maia reviewed his administration, apologising for any and all projects left undone. He manifested his dissatisfaction with the unfeasibility of Ibirapuera Park, all the more so because there was enough area available and the population was looking forward to having more green areas. However succinctly he may have referred to the park, he displayed a picture of it linked by a very beautiful boulevard to the Anhangabaú Valley. By presenting the park articulated with a traffic hub (present-day 23 de Maio

²⁷⁷ BARONE, Ana Cláudia Castilho, 2007. p.85.

²⁷⁸ MAIA, Francisco Prestes, 1930, Appendix. p. 341.

²⁷⁹ MAIA, Francisco Prestes. *Os melhoramentos de São Paulo*. São Paulo: Prefeitura Municipal, 1945.

Avenue), Maia reiterated its urban character, marked by a disconnect with the idea of roadway modernity and its aesthetic architectural concept.

As a matter of fact, it was not until after World War II that modern architecture became more consistent in São Paulo. According to Lemos, ‘steel profiles were no longer imported; as a result, steel+concrete constructions became accessible’²⁸⁰ and the first architectural colleges were founded – Mackenzie in 1947 and the one at Universidade de São Paulo, in 1948. At the same time, in the heart of São Paulo’s bourgeoisie, a wealthy, special interests group was on the rise, intent on establishing a connection between São Paulo and the liberal culture of the so-called developed countries. They had benefited from industrial exports during World War II and not only did they want to be closer to the technological advances of world capitalism but also they also wanted a way to relate their local identity to the symbols of international progress and modernity.

In the 1950s, in its quest to align with the modernity of organised capitalist countries, São Paulo’s bourgeoisie was involved in establishing the culturally massified consumption society that monopolistic capitalism required. Thus, in the early 1950s, the same private initiatives that promoted the opening of museums in the late 1940s were responsible for both creating Brazil’s first television channel and the Biennial Foundation of São Paulo²⁸¹, a huge international art exhibition fashioned on International Art Exhibition of the Venice Biennial.

The main characteristic of the period that São Paulo was turning into a gateway for foreign capital and technology refers to the accelerated process of metropolization seeing that urban geographical order was being redefined according to the impositions of the expanding industrial sector.

²⁸⁰ LEMOS, Carlos Alberto Cerqueira. *O modernismo arquitetônico em São Paulo*. In: http://www.vitruvius.com.br/arquitextos/arq065/arq065_01.asp. Accessed on Oct. 18, 2007.

²⁸¹ “Industrialist Ciccillo Matarazzo proposed the creation of a great international exhibition inspired in the Venice Biennial. (...) Ciccillo set 1951 as the year to hold the event and the amount to be awarded. The most difficult task concerning the exhibition was to convince the foreign artists – mainly the Europeans – to participate in the adventure of sending their works of art to a country without political or cultural importance worldwide. Ciccillo noticed that left to mailing and invitations only the exhibition would be a failure. He, then, asked his wife Yolanda Penteado to travel to Europe and invite the artists and foreign commissions in person to come and take part in the event. As the diplomatic representative of the first Paulista Biennial, Yolanda overcame all challenges and lived up to all expectations in a highly competent and successful fashion.” In: <http://bienalsaopaulo.globo.com>. Accessed on Oct. 23, 2007.

As previously discussed, the social-environmental dynamics of suburban expansion – its role of sheltering the working masses of the metropolis – began with the heavy spatial segregation that resulted in the consolidation of everyday life whereby time-space factors become fragmented. The new processes of constituting space and time and the time spent on commuting imposed a daily routine by which the dynamics of social life was determined by the prevalence of the boundaries of the private over the public.

Urban planning, then, is dragged into the ideological arena, reiterates and expands the process of spatial segregation, and creates global studies that never materialise. In 1950, the Public Improvements Plan was a milestone in the planning of urban space, under the co-ordination of urbanist Robert Moses²⁸², who advocated a regional approach for São Paulo. Through the International Basic Economy Corporation (IBEC) hired by mayor Lineu Prestes in 1949, Robert Moses was commissioned to assess a pilot project of São Paulo's new Zoning Law and to write a report on the city's planning of public works. The main target was to insert urban areas into the real estate market.

Moses' plan consisted of a series of recommendations, beginning with the prescription for a zoning law in São Paulo. As far as circulation was concerned, his approach was much the same as the one proposed by Prestes Maia, at least conceptually. The Public Improvements Plan projected a networks of expressways for São Paulo in much the same pattern as New York's. The embankments and plateaus of the Tietê and Pinheiros rivers were to be used as routes in a system of expressways that would also act as extensions of the main roads. Along with the expressway system, the plan proposed a public transportation system using buses, specific enough to include the number of vehicles and their models.²⁸³

The plan revealed a new way of approaching the parks issue. Its development created a novel concept in São Paulo, even if the 'Parks and Recreational Squares' document only merited a declaration of intentions, without the specificity given to the matter of the transportation and roadway system.

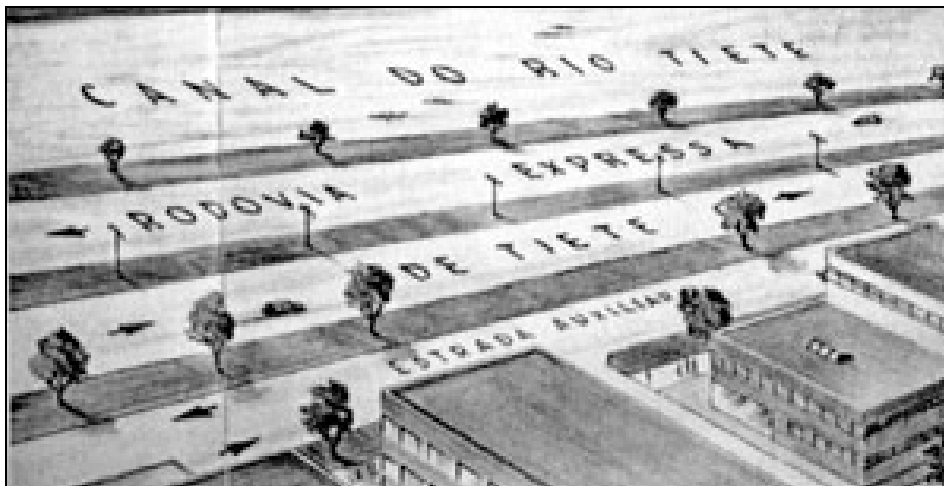
²⁸² American urbanist, responsible for great interventions in Nova York, among which the implantation of regional and municipal parks and parkways.

²⁸³ *Programa de Melhoramentos Públicos para São Paulo*. Study Director: Robert Moses, New York, Steidinger, 1950.

Quoting Moses, the ‘essential purpose of a park is recreation, not aesthetics.’²⁸⁴ He makes it clear that ‘as far as both things can be matched, it is still recreation that matters.’²⁸⁵ Under this approach, his ideas for São Paulo’s parks and recreational squares differed structurally from the park system created by Prestes Maia.

In the Avenues Plan, the parks were connected with the roadways system and served as sites of urban embellishment and hygiene. In the Improvements Programme, Moses suggested that the construction of parks be financed jointly with the roadway works, and he believed that the lack of great parks in São Paulo could be solved by reserving large areas along the enhanced lands of the Tietê and Pinheiros rivers. It does not mean, though, that this is a park system made out of the road network.

Fig 42: Freeway of Robert Moses’ Plan



Source: www.vitruvio.com.br/revistas/read/arquitextos/07.082/259

According to Moses, parks should spread all over the city to meet the needs of the various urban social segments. So, he suggested the construction of at least 50 local recreational parks that could be ‘easily projected for all ages, primarily with a view to the healthy open-air recreation with a minimum of supervision.’²⁸⁶

In this context, Ibirapuera Park was also seen under a different light. Despite the absence of a customised project, it stood out when seen together with a series of

²⁸⁴ *Programa de Melhoramentos Públicos para São Paulo*, Study Director: Robert Moses, New York, Steidinger, 1950. p.56.

²⁸⁵ *Idem, Ibidem.*

²⁸⁶ *Idem, Ibidem.*

proposed parks for the city. Seen as a tool of social leisure, Ibirapuera Park was given regional relevance due to its dimensions and location.

Interestingly enough, although the 'Public Improvements Programme' remained unaccomplished, the regional vocation of Ibirapuera Park came to light through a different path, one that would lead to its feasibility: an isolated public measure not linked to any state policy aimed at building of parks and public gardens.

At a time when public life was diluted by the emerging mass culture, the building of Ibirapuera Park became mingled with the celebrations of the 400th anniversary of the founding of São Paulo – with the spirit of development that ruled over the bourgeois elite as a background scenery. In fact, these celebrations were the façade for an ulterior motive: the pressure to re-organise the city's identity, vital for the consolidation of monopolistic capital.

The capitalist re-structuring attempts reveal themselves in the actions of the Committee for the 400th Anniversary of the Foundation of São Paulo, established by municipal law in July 1951.

The president of the Committee, Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho, nicknamed Ciccillo, an affluent industrialist and art sponsor, founder of the Modern Art Museum (MAM) and the Biennial Foundation of São Paulo, was trying to objectively associate the image of the city to symbols of the developed modern age. Ciccillo Matarazzo was convinced that São Paulo lacked a hub for international exchange of artistic and industrial productions. He saw in the commemorations of the city's 400th anniversary an excellent occasion to open a venue where industrial trade fairs and arts exhibitions could be held. Such venue should have a modern aspect and many halls, both permanent and temporary, since the built space itself should express São Paulo's technological proficiency.

In September 1951, as president of the Committee, Ciccillo invited some of the top modern architects of São Paulo to form a Planning Team in charge of developing a works programme for the 400th anniversary celebration.

Rino Levi, then president of the São Paulo chapter of the Brazilian Institute of Architects (IAB), was appointed coordinator of the team that also included his predecessor, Oswald Bratke, and Eduardo Kneese de Mello, holder of that entity card number 1 in São Paulo. Carlos Alberto Gomes Cardim Filho and Alfredo Giglio,

directors of the city's Urbanism Department and Architecture Department, respectively, were also part of the team, alongside with architects Ícaro de Castro Melo, Roberto Cerqueira César and Carlos Brasil Lodi. A month later, in a joint meeting with the Committee, the team decided that Ibirapuera would be the most adequate place to implement those exhibition halls envisioned by Ciccillo. Several other places had been considered for the proposed new park: Anhembi, in the northern zone of the city, the future campus of the Universidade de São Paulo, in the west, and D. Pedro II Park, in the east.²⁸⁷ Nevertheless, the large area of Ibirapuera, be it for its excellent location or its use as a public park, was selected as being particularly appropriate.

The Planning Team believed that the construction of Ibirapuera Park would be associated with an urban intervention programme that would not only be commemorative, but also become a landmark of the celebrations of the city's 400th anniversary. The interventions would be executed through three successive waves of works: the creation of a Master Plan, the development of architectural projects and, finally, the execution of the works. The Master Plan for the festivities emerged with the aspiration of giving the city a global look (the Planning Team even suggested the development of another Master Plan for the city), which also considered the urgent and absolute need to control growth, in accordance with the most modern urbanist principles. The Team tried to guide their studies by taking into consideration the importance of the festivities for the city, suggesting solutions that, at times, involved the metropolis as a whole and went beyond the construction of a mere exhibition fair.²⁸⁸

So, the coordinated Master Plan defined the locations in the city that would hold the commemorative events and established proposals for occupation and improvement for some of these venues. The area previously occupied by the Butantã farm, reserved since 1935 for the construction of a unified campus to house the Universidade de São Paulo, would hold the college activities related to the 400th anniversary. Ibirapuera Park was the preferred location for the exhibition halls. The Planning Team believed

²⁸⁷ Several authors approach the matter. Besides Oliveira, OLIVEIRA, Fabiano Lemes de, 2003, see MEYER, Regina Maria Proserpi. *Metrópole e Urbanismo. São Paulo, Anos 50*. Dissertation for Doctor's Degree. Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo da Universidade de São Paulo/ FAUUSP. São Paulo, 1991. Mimeographed copy.

²⁸⁸ ANDRADE, Manuella Marianna, 2006. p. 59.

that the vast Butantã area would have a more dynamic access once it started being visited attendees of scientific congresses, lectures or specialized courses.²⁸⁹

Sports activities were organised in easily accessible sites using existing equipment. The Pacaembu stadium, an equestrian club named 'Clube Hípica de Santo Amaro', the equestrian society called 'Sociedade Hípica Paulista' and even the Guarapiranga and the Billings reservoirs (for nautical activities) were included in the festivities map.²⁹⁰

Only two new sports venues would be built in the area of the future park: the Gymnasium and the Velodrome. Indeed, the Master Plan favoured the Ibirapuera area where, in addition to the construction itself of the park, improvements would be made in the roadway system.

The Ibirapuera programme, established as a result of the metropolitan role of the park, saw it as a park for the industries and the arts, as well as a public space to bring people together in entertainment activities. So, the Planning Team's programme included entertainment parks, bicycle tracks, trails for horseback riding, lakes, a playground, a mini-zoo, a botanical garden, restaurants, a theatre and a circus.

However, in December 1951, when the Master Plan was deemed complete and discussions on the development of the architectural projects were starting, disagreements arose between the Planning Team and the Committee, leading architects Rino Levi, Oswald Bratke, Kneese de Mello and Icaro de Castro Melo to resign in solidarity with their peers. With this deadlock, Ciccillo Matarazzo made his own decisions: he invited internationally-renowned architect Oscar Niemeyer to develop the architectural project of Ibirapuera Park and convinced Eduardo Kneese de Mello to co-operate in the endeavour. Of course, the inclusion of a new representative of the Planning Team in Niemeyer's own team was meant to placate the São Paulo modernists.

²⁸⁹ ANDRADE, Manuella Marianna, 2006. p. 60.

²⁹⁰ *Idem, Ibidem.*

Fig 43: Ibirapuera project in 1950



Source: www.vitruvius.com.br/revistas/read/arquitextos/05.051/553

Nonetheless, Kneese de Mello's presence in Niemeyer's team had an even greater diplomatic overtone in the scenario of rivalry and disputes between the modernist wing and the conservative class of architects lobbying the Committee. Kneese de Mello remained unbiased, since he had a history of social liaisons and friendships on both sides. He attributed his conversion to Modernism to the influence of Rio de Janeiro's professionals and, by endorsing Ciccillo Matarazzo's actions as art sponsor, as history has it, he exerted great influence on Matarazzo's connection to the modernist aesthetics.²⁹¹

²⁹¹ Kneese de Mello projected, together with Luís Saia, the venue for the I Biennial Exhibition, which opened in October, 1951. The success of the event revealed Matarazzo's competence, as well as his wife's, a fact which strengthened Matarazzo's ideas as president of the Committee for the 400th Anniversary of the Foundation of São Paulo. The venue consisted of a wooden polygon spreading over an area of 5,000 m². It was implanted in the Trianon promenade, that currently houses the MASP (Art Museum of São Paulo), which was then used as a traditional ballroom. In: <http://bienalsaopaulo.globo.com>. Accessed on Oct. 23, 2007.

Fig 44: Construction works of Ibirapuera Park



Source: www.vitruvius.com.br/revistas/read/arquitextos/05.057/507

On the other hand, Kneese de Mello had in his résumé a series of pre-modernist works that were both numerous and highly regarded. As a part of a class of engineer-architects that had graduated from Mackenzie College, he had been a disciple of Christiano Stockler das Neves²⁹², the eminent São Paulo professional who had created

²⁹² Cristiano Stockler das Neves was born in São Paulo in 1889, the son of engineer Samuel das Neves. Cristiano dropped out of São Paulo Polytechnic School of Engineering to go to the Architecture School of the University of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia, from which he graduated in 1911 as a trained architect. In 1921, he was invited by Brazil's president, Epitácio Pessoa, to develop the project and blueprint of the Post Office building in Petrópolis. In 1927, he received an honorific award from the III Pan-American Architecture Exhibition held in Buenos Aires, Argentina, with his project for the Sorocabana Railway Station in São Paulo, presently known as Júlio Prestes, in the Luz neighbourhood. The project was developed in partnership with his father, Samuel das Neves, and was inspired in the Grand Central and Pennsylvannia Stations in the USA, with French luxury added to it. Its platform was built with a metal structure similar to the one in the hangar of the 'Zeppelin' airship in Rio de Janeiro. Cristiano das Neves designed the headquarters of the War Ministry in Getúlio Vargas administration, also in Rio de Janeiro, among others. He participated actively in the architecture and construction magazine, *Revista Arquitetura e Construção*, launched in August, 1929. In 1930, he was awarded the gold medal in the IV Pan-American Architecture Exhibition held in Rio de Janeiro. He was also mayor of São Paulo from March 15 to August 31, 1947. He passed away on March 13, 1982, at age 93. In: http://petropolisnoseculoxx.zip.net/arch2007-08-01_2007-08-31. Accessed on Oct. 25, 2007.

that course in Engineering School²⁹³ to train architects in accordance with strict classical principles. Stockler das Neves, a notorious foe of the modernist aesthetics, produced an architecture admired by the urban elite of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. For decades, he was one of the few Brazilians architects who worked professionally with a genuine education in Architecture. He graduated from the University of Pennsylvania, in the 1920s, when there were only Engineering schools in Brazil, and he remained loyal to the aesthetics of Paris' École des Beaux Arts he became acquainted with in the USA.²⁹⁴ His architecture of classic inspiration and eclectic character was admired for its modernity, since it was made with cutting edge techniques, methods and materials.

Fig 45: Ibirapuera Projet Stockler da Neves



Source: www.vitruvius.com.br/revistas/read/arquitextos/05.051/553

As a matter of fact, Stockler das Neves represented a concept of modernity that rivalled the architectural approach of the modernists: he believed that technological

²⁹³ In 1916, architect Cristiano Stockler das Neves decided to present his ideas for the creation of an Architecture School to the Mackenzie College, based on the templates of the school he had attended in the University of Pennsylvania. As they were warmly received, he started organising the School, which opened to students in 1917 and included activities connected with the Engineering School of that institution. His draft ideas for an Architecture School can be found in a study titled 'Plano de Estudos Mínimos do Architecto nas Universidades da América'. In: <http://www4.mackenzie.com.br/1716>. Accessed on Oct. 23, 2007.

²⁹⁴ OLIVEIRA, Fabiano Lemes de. 2003. p. 169.

advances and the research of new materials should be used aesthetically to improve the arts, seen as an expression Classicism. If in 1917 the young Stockler das Neves was making his voice heard in the discussions on the identity of Brazilian architecture,²⁹⁵ in the 1950s he was the experienced defender of the Beaux-Arts tradition that would become Ciccillo Matarazzo's main rival in the 400th anniversary Committee.

Stockler and Matarazzo were in political dispute since the creation of the Committee, fighting – at first – for the presidency of the sub-committee of Works and Urbanism. Stockler das Neves had a head start and managed to obtain from the mayor the position to which Ciccillo Matarazzo had been previously appointed.

Stockler das Neves complained about the influence the industrialists had on the preparations for the festivities and on the construction of Ibirapuera Park. In an attempt to use the campus of the Universidade de São Paulo as the grounds for an International Exhibition, he presented a draft project of the park to the state governor on September 22, 1951, the same month that the initial studies of the Planning Team (which featured Ciccillo Matarazzo, recently appointed president of the Committee) were being developed.

Stockler das Neves's draft revealed his ideal of a Central Park counterpart in São Paulo. To him, the city needed a great park built according to the same principles of aesthetics and art that had inspired classic French, Italian and English landscaping.²⁹⁶ His approach to a beautiful and pleasant urban space for recreation rejected the insertion of a sports centre or an amusement park in the project and he kept his distance from the functionality that was to be incorporated into Ibirapuera for 400th anniversary celebrations.

²⁹⁵ OLIVEIRA, Fabiano Lemes de, 2003. p. 171.

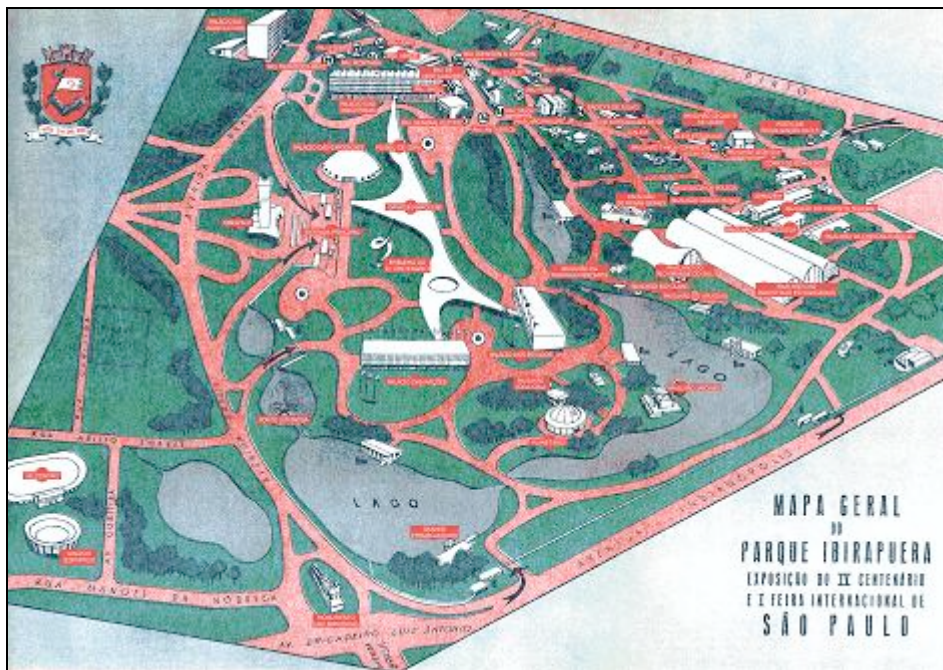
²⁹⁶ *Idem, Ibidem*, p. 196.

Fig 46: Picture of Ibirapuera Park as of its innauguration



Source: www.vitruvius.com.br/revistas/read/arquitextos/05.057/507

Fig 47: General Map of Ibirapuera Park for the 400th anniversary celebration



Source: www.saopaulominhacidade.com.br/fotos.asp

6.2. USES AND REPRESENTATIONS OF IBIRAPUERA PARK²⁹⁷

6.2.1. From the 1950s to the 1970s

Conflicts regarding Ibirapuera Park and its uses surfaced soon after the celebrations of the 400th anniversary of the foundation of São Paulo.

When the city signalled its intention of taking over the buildings designed by Niemeyer, public opinion did not accept such a sudden misuse of the architectural complex of Ibirapuera, still under the impact of the representations revealed during the construction of the park. The media was readily available to defend the Park as

a permanent centre for the display of São Paulo's cultural level, along with the city's progress in trading, agriculture, industry and other productive areas, in addition to being a popular recreational centre.²⁹⁸

The 400th Anniversary Committee, in charge of implementing Niemeyer's project in São Paulo, was committed to the idea of the work. Before being extinguished, it was careful enough to prepare a project to establish a Foundation that would preserve Ibirapuera Park as a popular recreational and cultural centre.

Ciccillo Matarazzo, president of the Committee, took the lead of a special team appointed by the Public Office to examine and review this project. With representatives from the municipality and the State government and also from an Artists and Intellectuals Convention, this mixed team prepared a report proposing guidelines for the park to become one of the world's most significant popular recreational and cultural centres in the near future. With this in mind, the Committee

²⁹⁷ The uses and representations of Ibirapuera Park, presented in a chronological manner, correspond to the analytical-regressive stage of the regressive-progressive method. As it was previously clarified in the theoretical-methodological chapter, the analytical-regressive stage is precisely the moment when the described practices and representations have to be dated. In this case, the data obtained from unstructured interviews, besides Depave's records and above all, newspapers, were organized in order to establish an analytical view of the practices and representations of the Ibirapuera Park since its inauguration.

²⁹⁸ Uma Fundação cuidará do destino do Ibirapuera. *Folha da Noite*. September 19, 1956.

claimed a Foundation was needed to manage the park according to the planned principles. During the first two managements, the Foundation would receive 10 million *cruzeiros* per year (approximately US\$ 1 million in current value²⁹⁹) in subsidies from both the state and the city government. After this period, with the increased visitation to the park, the Foundation would subsist with its own resources, namely, the proceeds from services provided at the Park. Mayor Juvenal Lino de Matos set up his office in the Palácio das Nações, regardless of any action by the City Council to create the Ibirapuera Foundation (which would only happen later, on February 15, 1957). This palace had housed the II Modern Art Biennial exhibition a few years earlier, which became known for its exhibition of noteworthy works, among them Picasso's *Guernica*. City Hall remained there until 1992. However, two years after the park was inaugurated, moving City Hall to that building created quite a commotion in the civil society.

While artists and intellectuals organised demonstrations and the media demanded the legalisation of the Foundation, both the mayor and the governor released statements that were at one time controversial and ambiguous.

According to the procedures of the City Council and the state Legislative Assembly, the creation of a Foundation faced a final legal impediment: since the Ibirapuera Park had assets from both the city and the state government, the Foundation could only be created through a deed by which the municipality and the state donated these assets.

Jânio Quadros, the state governor at the time, even nominated three people to work on this deed together with representatives from City Hall. Nonetheless, the Municipal Department of Legal Matters complained about the donation and the way it was carried out. A few months after the Foundation creation had been approved, the City Government issued an amendment that called upon the Public Attorney Office to evaluate the legal aspects of the cessions made by the City Hall to private entities and to Public Rights entities. By setting up this examination, the Municipal Office revealed its intention to create obstacles for the constitution of the Foundation.

²⁹⁹ Brazilian Central Bank In: <http://www.usinflationcalculator.com/>

In July 1957, in a shocking statement to the press ³⁰⁰, the mayor defended the acts of the Municipal Department of Legal Matters, leading Ciccillo Matarazzo to step down from the position of President of the special Committee in charge of Ibirapuera Park. But even away from the office, Ciccillo managed to finally move the Modern Art Museum (MAM), established in 1948 at Caetano Pinto street – the site of Matarazzo’s metalwork plant – to Governador Lucas Nogueira Garcez Pavilion, also known as ‘Oca,’ in 1958. The following year, the MAM began sharing its space with the Aeronautics Museum, created in 1959 by the Santos Dumont Foundation.

The state government installed the State Traffic Department in the Agricultural Pavilion inside the park in 1959, altering not the use not only of the famous building (formerly part of the Biological Institute) but also of the vast area around it.

Almost two years after the incident that triggered his resignation, Ciccillo Matarazzo returned to lead a new entity subordinated to the City Hall, the Special Committee for Ibirapuera Park (CEPI), created by a municipal decree on May 26, 1959. The CEPI had the same spirit of the previous committees, but now it also took into consideration the financial restraints and the much needed reconstruction of the Park, because the Ibirapuera showed signs of abandonment as early as 1959. Therefore, the proposed interventions required a re-assessment of the programme of the previous committee.

According to the 1956 project, Ibirapuera’s recreational centre would feature a great permanent amusement park, a roofed area for spectacles and popular balls, restaurants, barbecue pits, bars etc. In addition to a solid agenda of international fairs and exhibitions, the plan also included an ornamental park with elements of the Brazilian flora and fauna, a botanical garden and an aquarium.

In the course of 1959, the amusement park was set up but remained inoperative for several months. The CEPI stated that it would be removed from the park and replaced by a large rose garden.

The CEPI, besides remodelling the Arminda Arruda Pereira Hall, where the V Biennial exhibition would be held, also planned to reconstruct the marquee and the History Pavilion.

³⁰⁰ Declaração do Prefeito provoca a renúncia do Presidente da Comissão. *Diário de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, July 2, 1957.

In its plan, the Committee stressed the need for gardening maintenance in all open areas, renewing the gardens and lawns and replacing benches in appropriate spots.

Organizing exhibitions and fairs at the park was one of the original ideals, so the CEPI made promoted an exhibition on the state of Bahia and another one on Polish industrial products in the second semester of 1959.

In September 1959, Ciccillo gave the following statement to a local São Paulo newspaper:

Within two years at the most, Ibirapuera Park will go back to being what it has always been: a major and permanent centre for cultural and scientific events that shall also have popular entertainment and festivities (...) We will try to re-build Ibirapuera Park as much as it is within our reach to do so.³⁰¹

As the leading entrepreneur in Brazil's metalwork business, Ciccillo Matarazzo still advocated the best liberal principles. Endowed with an aesthetic taste, he sponsored the arts in his private capacity and was the ambassador of the educated São Paulo elite that inherited from the 1920s generation the vision of São Paulo as a dynamic centre of Brazilian culture.

With regard to Ibirapuera Park, Matarazzo continued to defend it not only as a space to display São Paulo's economic power but also as a place that invigorated its urban social life with international fairs, high-level cultural exhibitions and popular attractions. These characteristics made it one of the most significant parks in the world, an ideal state of things that, however, brought contradictory elements into the prevailing trend in the social-spatial constitution at the time.

In the 1950s, notwithstanding the enduring and charming embellishments of the public spaces used by the middle and upper classes – their streets and avenues, the city centre and the public gardens –, the circulation of vehicles was pressing for an urban formation in which shared spaces no longer prioritized bourgeois enjoyment.

³⁰¹ Roseiral em lugar do Parque de Diversões. *Folha da Manhã*. São Paulo, September 13, 1959.

On one hand, the creation of symbolic apparatuses to display São Paulo's industrial modernization and economic growth was structurally meaningful for the consolidation of monopolistic capital (and this is what the top segment of the São Paulo's bourgeoisie wanted); on the other hand, investing in urban social life was dispensable. Let us not forget that in the 1950s and the 1960s, the only investment in a green area was Ibirapuera Park – with the exception of small squares connected with the construction of streetways and the remodelling of Aclimação Garden, which reopened in 1955. In contrast, for the sake of building an efficient streetway system, as many as fourteen important public places in São Paulo were torn down.

Since preserving the park as the supposed centre of São Paulo's public life was not a priority in itself, it became a permanent challenge to use the buildings in the park for the cultural purposes they were meant to.

As mentioned before, between 1958 and 1962 the MAM was housed in the Governador Lucas Nogueira Garcez Pavilion, known nowadays as 'Oca', and was later relocated to the third floor of the Armando Arruda Pereira Pavilion, which the Biennial Foundation occupies today.³⁰² When the MAM and the Biennial Foundation became separate entities in 1963, Ciccillo Matarazzo decided to end the partnership that help to maintain the MAM and donated all its assets and collections to the Universidade de São Paulo (USP), so that a new museum, the Contemporary Art Museum (MAC) at USP, could be built. Even so, a group of 'non-conformists'³⁰³ prevented the museum from being dismantled. With a project to maintain its activities and a new charter, the group managed to temporarily house the MAM in the Conjunto Nacional building (in Paulista avenue) and, later on, in Edifício Itália, in the city centre.

Five years after this 'coup', the MAM was brought back to Ibirapuera Park, where it would be housed in the Bahia Hall, a shelter-like space beneath the marquee designed by Niemeyer for the exhibition on the state of Bahia that had taken place alongside the V Biennial Exhibition in 1959.

³⁰² The Biennial Foundation of São Paulo was established by Ciccillo Matarazzo in 1962 as an autonomous entity of the Modern Art Museum, with view to 'promoting and sponsoring arts and cultural events in general and graphic arts exhibitions in particular – the "Biennials".'

³⁰³ Including Arnaldo and Oscar Pedrosa d'Horta, Paulo Mendes de Almeida and Mário Pedrosa.

In keeping with Niemeyer's wishes, this hall should have been torn down soon afterward so that the space under the marquee would remain entirely open. Despite his wishes, however, the shelter remained standing to house the 1620-piece 18th Century Neapolitan Christmas Nativity Scene, which had been bought by Ciccillo Matarazzo.

To house the MAM, the hall was remodelled under the supervision of architect Giancarlo Pianti, who adapted the building to the museological regulations of the time.

During the time it remained in the Governador Lucas Nogueira Garcez Pavilion, as mentioned, the space was shared with the Aeronautics Museum, created by the Santos Dumont Foundation in 1959.

In 1962, the building's 5,000 m² area began to be shared with the Science Museum and the Folklore Museum (and with the Aeronautics Museum, which had remained there). In an article entitled 'A antiga Oca' (The Old Oca), Saidenberg describes the use of the 'wheel cap of the museums' as it had been nicknamed at the time:

The Oca was already a museum with permanent exhibitions. There was an admission fee and the first floor was dedicated to Santos Dumont, the early days of aeronautics and the space age. I remember one of the times we were there. My son must have been three or four years old. I began hearing non-stop warning whistles. He had leaned against the ropes surrounding the area in an attempt to get a closer view (...)

Going downstairs, the odour of mildew and antiquity increased. It was the Aeronautics Museum. There stood the famous Jahu, a Savoia-Marchetti airplane that had crossed the Atlantic. One of its pilots was a relative of mine, captain João Ribeiro de Barros. Ada Rogato's monoplane, also a long-distance aircraft, was there too. A time of pioneers. The powerful Thunderbolt, a fighter plane used in World War II in Italy, displayed an ostrich drawn by pilot Fortunato Câmara de Oliveira, and the motto '*Senta a Púa!*', which translates freely as 'Hit them hard!'. Where did all these aircraft land in their final flight?

Taking an escalator, we reached the Folklore Museum. Several and assorted popular art collections from all the corners of the country. *Mamulengos* and *Bumba-meu-boi* from the Northeast, barges from Ceará, *exús* (devils) from Bahia, giant heads from the Carnival of Pernambuco, the typical wattle and daub houses of the countryside, and the hanged Judas puppet of Itu with the Devil piggybacked. And lots more.

Upstairs, the floor must have been reserved for classes for it was always closed. Looking up we could see some of those fascinating mannequins, for the space was hollow with low fences. The Oca, not yet known by this name, was like a spaceship parked in Ibirapuera. Not very far from the beautiful spiralling sculpture that was the symbol of the 400th anniversary of the foundation of São Paulo, oddly missing.³⁰⁴

Fig 48: Oca at time of innauguration



Source: www.fflch.usp.br/dh/lemad/?p=1178

³⁰⁴ <http://www.saopaulominhacidade.com.br/list.asp?ID=533>. Accessed on December 15, 2007.

However, one must consider that, notwithstanding the museums and exhibitions, the maintenance problems of the park grew increasingly more serious during the 1960s. In an article in *Folha de São Paulo* on March 25 1963, Lucca Junior describes the state of the park:

Potholes, dirt, impassable paths, grass taking over the flowerbeds, decaying halls, the great marquee in dire need of repairs, utter lack of comfort – such is the landscape that greets native visitors (already or almost used to it) or tourists coming to spend time at the park and visit its museums – MAM, Science, Aeronautics or Folklore.

In fact, this does not contrast with the rest of the city. The Park should be a public place in São Paulo where its residents might find a little peace and quiet, beauty, relaxation. Fairs do take place there, exhibitions follow one another, there is a wing designed for children plays that has been refurbished. All this notwithstanding, Ibirapuera looks more like something that was not designed to stand the test of time and is doomed to fall to pieces, to crumble.³⁰⁵

In spite of the maintenance problems that grew worse during the 1960s, as the number of visitors tended to increase, specially on Sundays and holidays, Ibirapuera enabled some activities in a city that lacked public places and the expanding middle class did not undervalue them. Regardless of the stench and the unkept grass on its embankment, the lagoon offered entertainment to park visitors, who could rent rowing boats for two or three people or ride a ferry for thirty people. Visitors with children might stop by the children's park, in precarious conditions of preservation or not, but they could hardly leave without riding the little train – a tractor pulling wagons – that went around the park. The Planetarium was the number one attraction. In the 1960s, it was one of the most advanced in the world and, on weekends, it offered three admission-free sessions at 4, 6 and 8 pm. On Sunday mornings, there was yet another free session for children from 5 to 10, who were not allowed to enter the regular

³⁰⁵ O Parque do Ibirapuera tornou-se um autêntico presente de grego. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, March 25, 1963.

sessions. Schools, companies and associations could make reservations for weekday visits.

On top of it all, Niemeyer's monumental work of architecture was a cultural attraction in itself and drew tourists to the park. Even the newspapers (who criticized the park's conservation and its consequences throughout the 1960s and often mentioned the architect's dissatisfaction with the city's carelessness towards the park) had laudatory words for the set of architectural works in Ibirapuera.

In various newspaper articles – for instance, 'Ibirapuera to become one of the most beautiful parks in the world' or 'Ibirapuera may become the best park in the world' –, public opinion highlighted the persistence of the ideals of the 400th anniversary celebration and the fascination that Niemeyer's modern architecture used to exert in the 1960s.

Fig 49: Marquis and Lake view/ Photo by Alice Brill



Source: www.fflch.usp.br/dh/lemad/?p=1178

The admiration for the set of buildings did not extend to the open areas of the park, however. These were often seen by the press as 'lacking any landscaping or aesthetic sense'. The discreet and preservationist character of Otávio Augusto

Teixeira Mendes' project was misunderstood by the media, which undervalued the landscaping works performed in the park and expected the execution of a project by Burle Marx.

As it is known, Burle Marx had developed a project for Ibirapuera Park by invitation of the 400th Anniversary Committee and by Niemeyer himself. However, disagreements between the architect and the landscapist led to the approval of Teixeira Mendes' landscaping project, which was simpler and more in tune with Niemeyer's own project and its propositions. The latter determined a guideline for the landscaping project of the park through the design of the lakes that also worked as a requirement for the spatial organisation of the buildings.

The architect widened the natural lake to fill the natural hollows of the land and also to make it work as a river water collector.

Starting out from topographically established paths, the design of the lake gained a plastic expressiveness that was in line with the concept of the marquee, another element responsible for the park's spatial organisation. In this sense, the areas with specific uses and functions derived from the design of the lake and the marquee. The view to Brasil Avenue corresponded to the park's '*main façade*.' There, where the Obelisk and the Bandeiras Monument (in honour of the conquest of new lands by São Paulo pioneers) were to be placed, the landscaping project would follow the symbolic character of the park, adding value to the perspective of the buildings and monuments.

Going towards França Pinto street and Indianópolis avenue, a space that would feature the recreational, leisure and sports facilities, the landscapist conceived promenades with trees, groves and lawns.³⁰⁶

The reason why Burle Marx's exuberant project for the park was not approved possibly lies in the fact that it did not include propositions that might have potentially limited its creation. Teixeira Mendes's landscaping, like Burle Marx's, was based on principles typical of a modern language, concerned with the preservation of the local flora and the natural landscape and interested in the use and popularisation of local species. These principles, however, became completely distinct aesthetic propositions in each architect's creations. While Burle Marx reconceived modern landscaping by

³⁰⁶ Oliveira, Fabiano Lemes de Oliveira. 2003.

giving expressiveness to his gardens with polychromatic and textural contrasts, Teixeira Mendes' works were clearly influenced by the design of the modern English parks. Mendes used vast lawn and large groups of trees as the main tools in the organisation of his project.

For Ibirapuera Park, he proposed adjustments in the design of the lakes so as to integrate them into a system of winding paths covering the entire park and setting the pace for the enjoyment of the landscape. Woods, lawns and clearings established closures and openings that provided the capture of strategic views of the architectural set by both car drivers and pedestrians.

Teixeira Mendes created nearly a hundred and fifty designs in perspective, primary longitudinal cuts and secondary transversal cuts of viewing angles to study the park, while he tried to preserve the existing plants as much as possible.

Therefore, tall trees and a few plots of eucalyptus trees could be incorporated into his landscaping composition. He proposed planting a row of pink and yellow Ipê trees – a Brazilian native species – next to the Palácio das Indústrias. To make sure there would be shade along the pathways, he planted lots of trees like Campinas rosemarina, caesalpinia and Anadenanthera. Mendes formed a group of palm trees that included jerivas, seafortias, date palm trees, latanias, cariotas and açai. The woods behind the lake were made of the existing plants with the addition of some indigenous trees like the Brazilian oaktree, the Brazilian redwood, guatambu, jatobá and pink cedar, among others.³⁰⁷

All the same, the bad conservation and the incomplete execution of his project contributed to make Teixeira Mendes' composition principle go unnoticed by the press, which spoke of the common sense representations of the excessive number of trees, the absence of flowers, the lack of arrangements and colours in the park's landscape project.

In 1968, while City Hall launched a contest to build a ring road with three overpasses connecting 23 de Maio avenue (under construction at the time) to Rubem Berta avenue,³⁰⁸ a project that would imply a considerable loss of park area, the mayor

³⁰⁷ Mariano, Cássia. *Preservação e paisagismo em São Paulo: Otavio Augusto Mendes Teixeira*. São Paulo: Annablume, Fapesp, Fundação Maria Luisa e Oscar Americano, 2005.

³⁰⁸ Avenida fará São Paulo mais rápida. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, April 28, 1968.

made public his intention of turning Ibirapuera into a park with more and more flowers.³⁰⁹

The following sentence, uttered by one of the construction workers and highlighted by *O Estado de S.Paulo* newspaper, is representative of how implementation of a ring road in a part of the Park was perceived³¹⁰: ‘Ibirapuera already smells like asphalt but the people like the smell.’³¹¹ Periodically, the media would draw attention to the state of the Park and demand a solution. Readers would also write and denounce the state of the park.

To the *Folha de S.Paulo*, another local newspaper, this was a matter that ‘challenged the dynamism of the Faria Lima administration.’³¹²

The mayor, who had commissioned plans and promoted changes in the administrative organisation³¹³ concerning public green areas, had not carried out any concrete action to build and preserve the parks and gardens of São Paulo.

Electing brigadier Faria Lima meant a lot for São Paulo but very little for Ibirapuera Park. The rose on a mason’s spade, the symbol used by Faria Lima’s administration for the humanisation of São Paulo, had not yet reached Ibirapuera. Its visitors, the ones who have seen the park since 1954, are still waiting for this to happen.³¹⁴

In face of mounting criticism concerning Ibirapuera Park, the mayor appointed a committee to discuss reforms in the park and face the serious problem of the lakes.

³⁰⁹ Ibirapuera mais florido. *O Estado de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, April 10, 1968.

³¹⁰ A obra que todos discutem. *O Estado de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, April 3, 1969.

³¹¹ Ibirapuera já cheira a asfalto. *O Estado de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, April 3, 1969.

³¹² ‘Ibirapuera, a obra que derrotou o prefeito.’ *Folha de S.Paulo*, São Paulo, January 26, 1969.

³¹³ In 1968, the city government formalised the creation of the Department of Parks and Gardens altering its administrative tasks. At the time, the city had a Department of Urbanism, which conceived projects of squares, parks and gardens) and a Division of Parks, Gardens and Cemeteries, made basically of agronomical engineers and gardeners who worked on the specification of the vegetation (almost always according to the inventory of the Municipal Greenhouse) and the plantation. The new department could count on a multidisciplinary team composed of architects, agronomical engineers, civil engineers, as well as land surveyors, designers and construction costs experts, entrusted with the task of programming the implementation and creation of the landscaping projects in municipal green areas. See Bartalini, Vladimir. 1999.

³¹⁴ *Idem, Ibidem.*

The lakes, a godsend to that area, are dry and dirty – not to mention fetid – and, during the summer, nearby residences are invaded by flies and mosquitoes. Of all the boats transporting children and couples for a cruise on the lake, only six are left; they cannot cope with the large number of children and they are dangerous due to the poor conditions in which they operate (...) In the evening, delinquents take over the park, engaging in promiscuous activities, as there are no police patrolling and the gates remain open, making it easy for tramps to enter.³¹⁵

The lake's water quality remained a problem throughout the 1960s. In 1961, mayor Adhemar de Barros had already spoken of the need to clean up the lake.³¹⁶ Acknowledging the need for a park better suited to children,³¹⁷ the mayor considered the possibility of doing away with it with a landfill and implementing equipment for the children's leisure.³¹⁸

Going for a walk in the park is not easy task for children, specially on school holidays. Drivers speed like they were on a racetrack along the lanes with no police oversight. The lake, due to the pollution of its waters, is infested with mosquitoes that pose a threat to kids. Ibirapuera is no longer a paradise for them.³¹⁹

The plans for the lake landfill were made public on January 1968.³²⁰ On that same year, as a part of the 9th of July commemorations – a state holiday –, the Ibirapuera Sports Complex was inaugurated, a work that had begun four years earlier.³²¹

³¹⁵ Ibirapuera poderia ser um parque. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, August 16, 1968.

³¹⁶ Criança já não tem vez. *O Estado de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, February 13, 1968.

³¹⁷ Todos esperam pelo milagre do Parque. *O Estado de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, February 13, 1968.

³¹⁸ Reforma vai beneficiar muitos. *Idem, Ibidem*.

³¹⁹ Criança já não tem vez. *O Estado de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, February 13, 1968.

³²⁰ Aterro dos lagos do Ibirapuera. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, January 19, 1968.

³²¹ Inaugurado o conjunto. *O Estado de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, July 10, 1968.

The polemics³²² around the lake landfill went beyond Faria Lima's administration, at the end of which the mayor himself was opposing the action.³²³ Anyway, despite several projects, the lake issue remained unresolved.³²⁴

When Paulo Maluf was appointed mayor, another announcement was made concerning the remodelling of the park. The city said a committee would be formed to oversee the improvements that would be implemented in stages. According to the president of the Ibirapuera Park Special Committee, the idea was to 'turn Ibirapuera into São Paulo's landmark'.³²⁵ Their first act was to deploy 500 workers to clean the Park.³²⁶ The announced remodelling included draining the lakes, which would undergo modifications. One of the proposals was to turn one of the lakes into a dumping site to be used during the construction of the avenues 'Brigadeiro Luiz Antonio' and 'Brasil'.³²⁷ While this streetway work was under construction, the residents of the area staged demonstrations against the slashing of the park's eucalyptus trees.

Folha de S.Paulo ironically highlighted the fact that the slashing was done near a sign with the following inscription: 'Keep our city green.'³²⁸

On January 1971, the removal of civil service offices from the park regained momentum. A pilot project was launched to deal with the matter under the motto 'to transform the 1,300,000 m² park once and for all into a green landscaped, recreational and cultural place untouchable for other ends.'³²⁹ In the same year, sanitation works allowed the lake to be fed again. *O Estado de S.Paulo* said the works were only concluded in the following year and that 'The streams that were supposed to maintain the water level of the lakes started to receive raw sewage, which caused a proliferation of rats in Ibirapuera.'³³⁰ For the newspaper, the situation worsened with the

³²² Secar lagoa, pior solução. *O Estado de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, February 13, 1968.

³²³ *Idem, Ibidem*.

³²⁴ Um lago seco contra a beleza do Ibirapuera. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, March 15, 1969.

³²⁵ Prefeitura anuncia reforma do Ibirapuera. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, June 5, 1969.

³²⁶ Quinhentos operários iniciam a limpeza do parque Ibirapuera. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, June 7, 1969.

³²⁷ Inaugurado mais um grande depósito de lixo. *Jornal da Tarde*. São Paulo, September 7, 1970.

³²⁸ Corte de eucaliptos no Ibirapuera gera protesto. *Folha de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, March 11, 1970.

³²⁹ Ibirapuera: empresa pública cuidará do lazer. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, January 1, 1971.

³³⁰ Lagos do Ibirapuera saneados só em 1972. *O Estado de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, August 19, 1971.

construction of 'sewage collectors and pipe deviations connected to the galleries of those water courses.'³³¹

With every new city administration, new remodelling actions in Ibirapuera were announced, although very little was actually ever done. As soon as Figueiredo Ferraz became mayor, new plans for the park were announced.

The first step towards remodelling Ibirapuera Park had been taken: Mayor Figueiredo Ferraz ordered the Secretary of Municipal Services to clean up the gardens, improve the benches, and cleanse the polluted waters of rivulets and lakes. The target was to turn Ibirapuera Park into a place for entertainment and culture. City Hall prepares a plan to use the entire area in the construction of a centre for recreation and culture.³³²

When Figueiredo Ferraz stated that 'Ibirapuera Park is untouchable; the mayor's residence must set the example for other citizens',³³³ he hoped to expand the green areas of Ibirapuera 'to enlarge the population's leisure areas.'³³⁴ In this sense, he advocated tearing down the Nations Pavilion inside the park to incorporate another 60,000 m² (20,000 m² from the pavilion alone) into Ibirapuera.³³⁵ His aim was to add a total of 160,000 m² to the park's area.³³⁶ He also announced the park would be fenced with iron grills in July 1973.³³⁷

Despite not telling when the works will begin, the Parks and Gardens manager announced the use of an iron fence around Ibirapuera Park, 'more to control visitors than to protect them' (...) Patrolling the Park with mounted police was justified by Mr. Correia de Jesus as a current need 'to avoid indecent situations that

³³¹ Parque do Ibirapuera limpo. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, November 17, 1971.

³³² Reformas do Ibirapuera. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, April 20, 1971.

³³³ Ibirapuera, um panorama desolador. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, June 19, 1971.

³³⁴ Parque do Ibirapuera vai ganhar mais 160 mil metros quadrados de área verde. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, April 8, 1972.

³³⁵ Pavilhão será demolido. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, March 2, 1972.

³³⁶ *Idem, Ibidem*.

³³⁷ Parque do Ibirapuera será cercado. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, November 15, 1972.

happen in Ibirapuera.’ The fence would, then, discipline such patrolling.³³⁸

The installation of wood fixtures in the lawns was the means used to prevent those areas from being used for the irregular parking of vehicles.³³⁹

Still in 1972, the creation of a garden for the blind was announced. It opened in August 1973.³⁴⁰ Constructing a new building to house municipal agencies within Ibirapuera Park was another one of the mayor’s goals. This project would imply the dislodgement of the Pet Cemetery that the International Union for the Protection of Animals kept in that public space. This entity filed a lawsuit against the city in order to keep the cemetery there.³⁴¹ On May 1974, under Miguel Colasuono’s administration, landscapist Burle Marx was commissioned to develop a project that would, quoting its author, ‘humanise the park using the woods as an element of integration of the several types of equipment intended for the park.’³⁴² The project however, was left undone.

The 146,500 m² area where the Manequinho Lopes Vivarium stood was finally incorporated to Ibirapuera Park on April 1976, with its flower beds, greenhouses and fish tanks.³⁴³ Months earlier, architect Oscar Niemeyer’s had the chance of being commissioned by the same mayor to develop a recovery project for the park and finally bring about the intended ‘leisure and cultural space.’ Visiting the park 21 years after he designed of the project, Niemeyer said:

Ibirapuera today is a series of plots traversed by circulating vehicles and initial idea of it should be used was thwarted. In fact, the park is a point of the city with vehicles circulating all over the place, when

³³⁸ Grades no Parque do Ibirapuera. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, October 4, 1972.

³³⁹ Estacionamento no Ibirapuera. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, May 4, 1972.

Ibirapuera está virando parque de estacionamento. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, January 12, 1974.

³⁴⁰ Jardim só para cegos no Ibirapuera. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, August 24, 1972. Reforma do Ibirapuera fica pronta até o fim do ano. *Folha da Tarde*. São Paulo, July 23, 1973.

³⁴¹ Ibirapuera briga para ser verde *Folha de S.Paulo*, São Paulo, May 8, 1973. Parque: uma boa proposta desvirtuada. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, May 8, 1973.

³⁴² Alegre Ibirapuera, limpo, bonito como nos velhos tempos. *Jornal da Tarde*. São Paulo, April 17, 1974.

³⁴³ Mais verde para o Ibirapuera. *Jornal da Tarde*. São Paulo, April 6, 1976.

the original idea was exactly the opposite, that is, the implementation of a major garden.

Anyhow, of all the issues raised by the architect, the only actions taken were remodelling of the marquee and tearing down the public buildings,³⁴⁴ while the fence, the public buildings and the vehicles remained.³⁴⁵ By the late 1970s, mayor Olavo Setubal sanctioned the demolition of the Green Pavilion, which housed the city's Archives. The reason was the same as Niemeyer's: to turn Ibirapuera into a place for leisure, recreation and culture.³⁴⁶ But a problem came to light that would mark the use of the park during the following decade: the conflict among pedestrians, motorcyclists and drivers inside the park.³⁴⁷

Fig 50: Aerial view of Ibirapuera Park in the 70's



Source: www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?t=431868

³⁴⁴ Começa a remodelação do Ibirapuera. *Folha da Tarde*. São Paulo, May 31, 1976.

³⁴⁵ Niemayer retorna para recuperar o Parque Ibirapuera. *O Estado de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, January 21, 1975.

³⁴⁶ Ibirapuera: pavilhão dará lugar a área de lazer. *Folha da Tarde*, São Paulo, March 27, 1979.

³⁴⁷ Solução da Prefeitura: uma placa. *Jornal da Tarde*, São Paulo, August 24, 1976.

6.2.2. Uses and Representations of Ibirapuera Park from the 1980s

In the 1970s, São Paulo was configured to receive a massive number of automobiles in the following decade. A reaction to this model could be seen in the uses and representations of Ibirapuera Park. Although the modernist project had anticipated the traffic of vehicles inside the park, the excess of cars and motorbikes in its internal lanes had turned into a problem.

It wasn't only because vehicles disturbed the enjoyment of the space (in its environmental and leisure aspect) that they generated conflicts; people were also being hit by cars and there was the overall question of lack of security. Motorized burglars were robbing people during weekdays. In response, the Municipal Planning Department endorsed severe repression of the 'actions of prostitutes, drug dealers and thieves', proposing security upgrades to the park.³⁴⁸

The pressure to banish motorized vehicles from the park was proportional to the strength of those interested in preserving their presence. Prohibiting the entry of vehicles would complicate access to many governmental departments located inside the park. Even the office of the mayor was located inside the park, so it is not surprising that the municipal government's position was ambiguous.

Unwilling to make a commitment, the municipal planning secretary, Paulo Gomes Machado, declared on January 1980 that the admission of cars and motorbikes in the park depended on 'a broad study, because it is a complex issue'.³⁴⁹ However, eight months later, the same secretary determined that cars and motorbikes would be banished from circulating in some areas of the park during weekdays and the entire park would be closed to motor vehicles in weekends and holidays. The conflict, however, wasn't over. On one hand, there was constant pressure in the early 1980s from car drivers, as well as public manifestation by motorcyclists who felt excluded from enjoying the "main green area of São Paulo"³⁵⁰. On the other hand, the park's Users Council (that had been organized in 1983, with support of the secretary for Services and Works, Luis Portela) tried to guaranteed the safety of visitors with police

³⁴⁸ Ibirapuera poderá ser proibido para carros. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, June 18, 1980.

³⁴⁹ *Idem, Ibidem*.

³⁵⁰ Motoqueiros ameaçam invadir Ibirapuera. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, September 20, 1980.

inspections and by keeping away the motorcyclists who insisted on entering the park on forbidden days and areas.

On December 17, 1984, the Users Council was replaced by the Assuapi (Association of Users and Friends of Ibirapuera Park), which, over the following twenty years, acted as the main representative of users. With juridical autonomy to influence government, this new entity engaged in debating the main issues that distressed users of the park's space: the struggle to remove government departments, to declare the park architectural heritage, to enforce zoning laws and to totally forbid the admission of motor vehicles.

On January 1984, according to the director of Depave (Department for Parks and Green Areas), an amendment to the zoning law was considered a possible solution for the disordered and random use of the space of the park, which was causing conflicts among, and complaints from, users.

This mix of activities, like a football match at the park's Peace Square side by side with someone who's quietly reading, ended up annoying the users. And the problem became worse during weekends, especially on sunny Sundays, when the park gets overcrowded.³⁵¹

The admission of motor vehicles could also be controlled by zoning. According to a technician interview, 'a serious and attentive study by the DSV (Department for the Operation of the Road and Transport System)' is being undertaken 'to try to satisfy everyone's interests and necessities and avoid traumas'.

the initial idea is to create parking lots outside Ibirapuera, using the [nearby areas of the] Detran [State Traffic Department] and the State Legislature, besides the streets of the neighbourhood. The motorcyclists would also have a meeting point outside the park's gates.³⁵²

During the 1980s, another controversial issue struck Ibirapuera Park: the possibility of turning it into a piece of architectural heritage. As a result of the brutal process of mischaracterization that the city went through in the 1970s, declaring

³⁵¹ Parque do Ibirapuera pode ter zoneamento. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, January 15, 1984.

³⁵² *Idem, ibidem*.

buildings to be national heritage acquired a special significance in the following decade. The proposal to turn Ibirapuera into architectural heritage got mixed up with the issue of removing public departments from the park. Understanding that the ideals of the original project had been lost by disputes between state and municipal governments, segments of organized civil society – particularly intellectuals, artists and freelance professionals – thought that preserving the park as architectural heritage would be the way to restore and guarantee those ideals.

The municipal government didn't accept this proposal without restrictions. During his administration, mayor Reinaldo de Barros announced his objections to the project developed by the Condephaat (Council for the Protection of Historic, Archaeological, Artistic and Touristic Heritage) that was attempting to include the park as a listed building. He argued that, if the park were included as a listed building, it would become difficult to perform renovations or even maintenance in it. Architect Ruy Ohtake, president of Condephaat at the time, was contrary to the mayor's opinion and considered that the inclusion of Ibirapuera as a listed building 'far from being the beginning of its abandonment, shows the importance of valuing urban green areas that have fundamental social roles in the city'.³⁵³

Furthermore, the press didn't stop to criticize the lack of conservation of the park³⁵⁴, demanding the urgent renovation of the great marquee: '(...) there are no water fountains, toilets are scarce, an information system to orient users is inexistent, the emergency medical service, when available, is precarious.'³⁵⁵

On March 1985, during the reestablishment of democracy in the country, under the title 'The city wants Ibirapuera back', the newspaper *Folha de São Paulo* promoted a series of debates with various representatives from government and the civil society. The proposals that were discussed motivated an ongoing campaign to preserve Ibirapuera as an area dedicated to culture and leisure³⁵⁶. With the intention of sensitizing society, many exhibitions were organized in the park's public spaces and, in the heat of the campaign, architect Oscar Niemeyer said he agreed that the park

³⁵³ Barros faz restrições ao tombamento do Ibirapuera. *Folha da Tarde*. São Paulo, September 1, 1981.

³⁵⁴ Mesmo precário, parque do Ibirapuera ainda atrai paulistanos. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, August 30, 1982.

³⁵⁵ Marquise do Ibirapuera será incluída no orçamento de 84. *Folha da Tarde*. São Paulo, September 29, 1983.

³⁵⁶ Ibirapuera, mais espaço para o lazer. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, February 10, 1985.

should be turned into architectural heritage and that its green areas should be preserved. Study groups coordinated by professor Aziz Ab Saber, associations such as Tema, Pró-Gueto and Pró-Museu, as well as groups of park users exerted direct pressure over the municipal government, demanding the “de-bureaucratization” of the park, which meant the removal of all public departments located inside it³⁵⁷.

On January 1985, at the end of mayor Mario Covas’ short administration, law no. 9,872 was enacted, forbidding the circulation of vehicles inside the park and setting a three-year deadline for the removal of all administrative departments from Ibirapuera³⁵⁸.

If Mario Covas established a channel of communication with civil society associations, the next mayor adopted a different attitude. In his campaign, Jânio da Silva Quadros, gave visibility to a group of youths that supported him politically, the Juventude Janista, and promised to the motorcyclists in that group that he was going to revoke the law that forbade the entrance of motorbikes in the park³⁵⁹. Complying with what he’d stated, once in the government he sent bill 025/86 to the City Council allowing the admission of motorcycles and keeping the administrative departments in the park. However, his proposal to revoke Law no. 9872 was defeated³⁶⁰.

During mayor Janio Quadros’ administration, everyday use of the park was impregnated by restrictions and municipal control. A symbolic example was the destitution of the Teotônio Vilella Free Tribune. Stating that he wouldn’t allow political manifestations, especially in an area so close to City Hall, the mayor ordered the demolition of the tribune, which had been inaugurated in 1983 in behalf of freedom of speech³⁶¹. He also vigorously forbade the manifestations of the so-called “Dia Municipal da Cobrança” (Municipal Bill Collection Day), promoted by opposition parties with the intent of inspecting the actions of the municipal government. To repress the event, he called upon 100 military policemen, 150 municipal guards and 20 water trucks, ready to throw water in whoever wished to join

³⁵⁷ O Ibirapuera poderá renascer. *O Estado de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, October 6, 1985.

³⁵⁸ *Idem, Ibidem*.

³⁵⁹ Motos só voltam ao Ibirapuera se mudar a lei. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, December 12, 1985.

³⁶⁰ Motos não voltam ao Ibirapuera: a mais recente derrota de Jânio. *Folha da Tarde*. São Paulo, March 14, 1986.

³⁶¹ Prefeitura derruba tribuna livre Teotônio Vilella do Parque Ibirapuera. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, October 10, 1987.

the protest³⁶². Moreover, with the pretext of preserving order in the park, football matches were interrupted by the Metropolitan Constabulary and players were obliged to show their IDs³⁶³. Furthermore, the mayor prohibited the admission of skates and bicycles in the park. *Folha de São Paulo* reported on the May 20, 1988:

Jânio Quadros considers them to be a serious threat to men, women and, especially, children. For the park's administrator, José Joaquim Calazans, the prohibition was a consequence of complaints made directly to the mayor, because there were no records of incidents.³⁶⁴

The repercussions of his action weren't at all favourable, so the mayor decided to drop the ban soon after and skates and bicycles were to be forbidden only during weekends³⁶⁵.

With the goal of turning the park into a visually more attractive place, the mayor managed to obtain from São Paulo's Zoo some tortoises, lizards, agoutis and ornamental birds, like parrots and macaws. Fishes were also placed in the lakes. These innovations were reported in various newspapers. The most enthusiastic was *Jornal da Tarde*, which mentioned the return 'of the old dream of turning Ibirapuera into a large woodlands, with lakes and well-supervised green areas. This wish is starting to come true.'³⁶⁶ The press had already published information on the depollution of the lakes³⁶⁷. In this way, by the end of Jânio's administration, the conditions of the park were praised by the press. *Folha da Tarde*, for example, stated that Ibirapuera 'was the apple of the mayor's eye. Clean, safer for the users and with depolluted lakes surrounded by birds'.³⁶⁸

On January 1980, just after the new mayor Luiza Erundina took office, skaters returned to the Park, followed by cyclists, who had also been restricted during Jânio

³⁶² Ibirapuera, parque da confusão. *O Estado de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, October 8, 1987.

³⁶³ Bola ainda rola na grama do Ibirapuera. *Folha da Tarde*. São Paulo, May 26, 1986.

³⁶⁴ Jânio proíbe skates e bicicletas no Ibirapuera. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, May 20, 1988

³⁶⁵ Prefeito volta atrás. *Folha da Tarde*. São Paulo, May 21, 1988.

³⁶⁶ O parque dos bichos. *Jornal da Tarde*. São Paulo, April 12, 1988.

³⁶⁷ Um lago purificado. *Folha da Tarde*. São Paulo, March 25, 1988

³⁶⁸ Ibirapuera é a maior diversão paulistana. *Folha da Tarde*. São Paulo, December 31, 1988.

Quadros' tenure³⁶⁹. Weeks later, the mayor set a public audience to discuss the future of Ibirapuera³⁷⁰, showing herself in favour of removing the public administrative departments.

On September of the same year, Erundina announced that the mayor's office was going to be transferred to the Palácio das Indústrias, in D. Pedro II Park. The transference depended only on approval of a deal between the municipal and state governments. The mayor also subscribed to a petition to turn the park into national heritage, after a study made by Condephaat³⁷¹. The bill, which regulated the removal of public administrative departments from Ibirapuera and determined the preservation of its the trees, was approved by the City Council in late 1990.³⁷²

The Project will turn the entire vegetation of the park into public heritage. Anyone who isn't careful with the trees or damages them in any way will be punished. The work sites which occupy more than 30,000 m² of the park, must be removed within 60 days. (...) The parking lots that belong to the Works Department, a veritable cemetery of automobiles and heavy machinery, also have a deadline to leave the Park: July 1991 (...) The governmental departments will have a longer deadline to be transferred.³⁷³

Soon after, Erundina ratified the law that included Ibirapuera as a historical and environmental heritage and established a deadline for the removal of the mayor's office from the Park: December 31, 1992³⁷⁴. As another newspaper, *Folha da Tarde*, reported:

Beginning next week, the city can rest assured that Ibirapuera will stop 'shrinking'. Since its construction in 1954, the park had lost

³⁶⁹ Liberado pela Prefeitura, Ibirapuera é invadido por skates e bicicletas. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, March 6, 1989.

³⁷⁰ Erundina debate uso do Ibirapuera com população. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, January 29, 1989.

³⁷¹ Prefeita apóia tombamento do Ibirapuera. *Folha da Tarde*. São Paulo, September 22, 1990.

³⁷² Preservação do Ibirapuera depende de Erundina. *O Estado de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, December 16, 1990.

³⁷³ Prefeitura aprova tombamento do Parque Ibirapuera. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, January 12, 1991.

³⁷⁴ *Idem, Ibidem*.

more than half of its area to new public and private constructions. The Condephaat approved last week that the park should be included as a listed site.³⁷⁵

On 25 January 1993, at last, the Ibirapuera Park was declared a national heritage by the Condephaat³⁷⁶. The fact was celebrated the next day with a concert by renowned Brazilian artists.

Although the Assuapi was in favour of naming the park a listed building, the question was controversial among the most frequent users of Ibirapuera. Because the residential areas around the Park would probably be also included as listed buildings, the area's homeowners got together and wrote a petition against it.³⁷⁷

On May 6, 1994, the Municipal Green and Environment Department announced the decision to expand the protected area to sites surrounding the park. Besides residences, the buildings of the State Traffic Department, the Biological Institute and the Círculo Militar club were also named national heritage. The mayor also intended to expand the area of the park by 10%, incorporating the Obelisk, the Eucalyptus Grove near the Legislative Assembly and an area where airplane modelling was practiced³⁷⁸.

Two years later, the park's Master Plan, developed by Oscar Niemeyer, required the removal of some buildings in the environs: residences and offices located at Quarto Centenário and República do Líbano avenues. At the time, a rumour spread that mayor Paulo Maluf intended to include properties around the park as listed buildings in order to decrease their market value and demolish them afterwards³⁷⁹. According to some lawyers, such strategy for freezing the prices had no legal

³⁷⁵ Tombamento vai preservar área do Ibirapuera. *Folha da Tarde*. São Paulo, January 25, 1991.

³⁷⁶ Burle Marx afasta Niemeyer da reforma do Parque do Ibirapuera. *O Estado de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, January 15, 1992. Convênio prevê recuperação do Ibirapuera. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, January 15, 1992. Erundina quer recuperação do Ibirapuera. *Folha da Tarde*. São Paulo, January 15, 1992.

³⁷⁷ Convênio prevê recuperação do Ibirapuera. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, January 15, 1992. Burle Marx afasta Niemeyer da reforma do Parque do Ibirapuera. *O Estado de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, January 15, 1992. Ibirapuera: tombamento polêmico. *Jornal da Tarde*. São Paulo, January 21, 1992.

³⁷⁸ Tombamento do parque será ampliado. *O Estado de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, May 7, 1994. Ibirapuera ganha mais 120 metros quadrados. *Folha da Tarde*. São Paulo, May 7, 1994.

³⁷⁹ Edital para teatro no Ibirapuera sai este mês. *O Estado de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, July 9, 1996.

support³⁸⁰. Anyway, the rumour worked as an argument in favour of those homeowners, who were indignant with the possibility of expropriation.

The central idea of Oscar Niemeyer's Master Plan, which was published in 1996, was to revitalize the Park and turn it into a massive cultural area. Therefore, a priority was the removal of the Prodam (Municipal Data Processing Company) from inside the park and the construction of an auditorium for big events, near the marquee. According to the project, the roof of the auditorium would be retractile: when closed, it would hold 2,000 people inside and, when opened, 30 thousand³⁸¹. The budget for this amphitheatre, to be built near the park's main entrance, was 10 million dollars. The construction was supposed to last 8 months.

The Master Plan also proposed the demolition of some small buildings that were not part of the architect's original project and had been built to house the administration of the Park, warehouses, leisure centres etc. The MAM (Modern Art Museum) would 'free the marquee' when transferred to a new, 3,000 m² building. The so-called Biennial building would gain an exclusive entrance and the Sapateiro Stream would receive a treatment station to depollute the lake. The plan included the construction of a restaurant, a snack shop, small buildings for the park's administration, maintenance, warehouses, security and toilets, a medical centre, the Jânio Quadros memorial and a huge underground parking lot for 2,000 vehicles by the main entrance. The parking lot would allow a full traffic ban on vehicles and the removal of the paved lanes inside the park. Covering the pedestrian paths with gravel would improve the permeability of the soil. Tennis, basketball, volley and soccer courts would be removed in order to expand the free space grounds. Only the bicycle paths and jogging tracks would be preserved. Very controversial, these actions were justified by the government: if the practice of sports was to be incorporated to the Plan, new courts would have to be built, contradicting the decision to increase soil permeability. So the proposal was presented as a way to stimulate use of the city's other green areas. According to the head counsel of the Municipal Green and Environment Department at the time, Ibirapuera sports practitioners wouldn't be left without options, because the city had 30 other parks. However, this attitude caused surprise for contradicting the predominant tendency since the late 1960's of

³⁸⁰ Juristas dizem que tomar para demolir é ilegal. *O Estado de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, July 10, 1996.

³⁸¹ Ibirapuera será transformado em pólo cultural. *O Estado de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, July 7, 1996.

stimulating the practice of sports in Ibirapuera. A year before Oscar Niemeyer's Master Plan was published, the first São Paulo Cup was organized by Lipton Championship, from July 24 through 30. Therefore, the construction of three tennis courts, with seating for 2,000 people was planned in order to stimulate the practice of tennis in Brazil³⁸².

The Plan also intended to discontinue the big music events that were organized by the Municipal Department of Culture³⁸³, which took place at Peace Square and attracted large crowds to the park on Sundays. The 'São Paulo Passo e Compasso' project was resumed on February 1994, with Beethoven's Ninth Symphony performed by the Municipal Symphonic Orchestra. On July 1995, thirty thousand people sitting on the lawn or in beach chairs watched a concert by the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra. Another historic event was the celebration of the park's 40th anniversary when, on January and February, despite the rain, 1.5 million people attended the Summer program in the Park³⁸⁴. The activities to celebrate the park's birthday included the reopening of Manequinho Lopes Vivarium and the distribution of kits with 12 postcards and a poster of the city in the 1950s.

In 'O livro vermelho do hip hop' (The red hip hop book), Milton Salles explains that he had proposed the creation of the MH2O (Organized Hip Hop Movement) during that event. At the limit of the legend, according to him:

We were busy organizing various concerts and events at a time when it was raining a lot, so we thought of water movements... The H2O Movement! It matched with Organized Hip-Hop, thus... MH2O.³⁸⁵

According to MC Valente, while studying the movement Elaine Andrade considered this moment the division between the old and new national hip hop schools.

³⁸² Parque do Ibirapuera terá torneio de nível mundial. *O Estado de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, May 4, 1995.

³⁸³ Concerto reúne 30 mil pessoas no Ibirapuera. *O Estado de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, July 3, 1995.

³⁸⁴ Chuva cancela evento no Parque Ibirapuera. *Folha da Tarde*. São Paulo, January 10, 1994. Chuva estraga passeios do domingo. *O Estado de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, January 10, 1994.

³⁸⁵ <http://images.orkut.com/Main#CommMsgs.aspx?cmm=8587255&tid=2541478981120787838&kw=capoeiristas+do+Ibirapuera&na=3&nst=41&nid=8587255-2541478981120787838-2541662049806812542>. Accessed on April 25, 2007

It was a moment in which the profile of the participants of the movement changed a lot: the youths who had started to dance break at the centre of the city had grown old, hip hop wasn't in fashion anymore, a lot of people abandoned break dancing. At the same time, rap was being consolidated as the authentic soundtrack of the periphery, chosen by black youths as representative of their ideas.³⁸⁶

During the 1990s, big projects began to attract private investors. The campaign to clean the lake, carried out in October 1990 by the municipal government, established a partnership with private enterprises³⁸⁷.

The 'Mais Ibirapuera pra você' project (More Ibirapuera for you), dedicated to renovation works at Ibirapuera, could only be executed through a partnership between the municipal government, the Roberto Marinho Foundation and the Real bank, signed in 1992. The idea was to turn the Park into a 24/7 reference for the city³⁸⁸. The main works³⁸⁹, finished on April 1994, were the reconstruction of the Manequinho Lopes Vivarium, the creation of new gardens, squares for playing games and a Reading Grove. On November 21, 1994, the president of the Globo Organizations, Roberto Marinho, donated 59 African flamingos to the park. The birds had come from Tanzania and went through an adaptation period before being placed in the lake³⁹⁰.

The opening of the bicycle path on January 1993 generated controversies. For one, as soon as the 5,600-meter path opened, conflicts between pedestrians and cyclists arose because of accidents³⁹¹. Furthermore, the Public Prosecution Office sued City Hall demanding the removal of the bicycle path because it was paved with

³⁸⁶ <http://images.orkut.com/Main#CommMsgs.aspx?cmm=8587255&tid=2541478981120787838&kw=capoeiristas+do+Ibirapuera&na=3&nst=41&nid=8587255-2541478981120787838-2541662049806812542>. Accessed on April 25, 2007.

³⁸⁷ Prefeitura quer apoio de empresas para recuperar lago do Ibirapuera. *Folha de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, October 5, 1990.

³⁸⁸ Ibirapuera volta a ser cartão postal. *O Globo*. Rio de Janeiro, April 3, 1994.

³⁸⁹ The first thing to be improved is the park's visual aspect. Landscape expert Burle Marx was hired to give special attention to plants and trees. The refurbishment project included expanding the Manequinho Lopes Vivarium, which would receive a parking lot and, later, would host gardening classes and plant studies, especially of Amazon species. A second part of the reform would include the buildings façade. *O Estado de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, July 1, 1992.

³⁹⁰ Ibirapuera ganha 59 flamingos africanos. *O Estado de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, November 22, 1994.

³⁹¹ Pedestres e ciclistas entram em guerra na ciclovia do Ibirapuera. *Folha da Tarde*. São Paulo, February 1, 1993.

asphalt, not permeable and drainable material. While inspecting the path, the Condephaat noticed a reduction of permeable area in the park³⁹².

Condephaat found various irregularities after the park was turned into national heritage. On September 1996, the Municipal Green and Environment Department authorized the Office for the Control of Violations against the Environment to launch an official inquiry to investigate why some trees had been removed from Ibirapuera. Although the Department said they had been transferred somewhere else for the construction of the Ayrton Senna Tunnel Complex, the prosecutors understood that the city had acted in irregularly, because any alteration in the park's space had to be communicated to the Condephaat³⁹³. In the same period, the construction of a new entrance to the Biennial building, as determined by the Master Plan, was stopped because the project hadn't been approved by the Condephaat yet³⁹⁴.

When the implementation of the 1996 Master Plan began, there were constant discussions about it and several public opinion surveys were carried out in this regard.

City planners said the Plan should have consulted the population³⁹⁵. According to a survey published on July 10, 1996, the users of Ibirapuera supported the construction of the amphitheatre, the removal of Prodam from the park and the planting of new trees³⁹⁶, but criticised the reduction of space for the practice of sports³⁹⁷, the demolition of residences surrounding the Park³⁹⁸ and the removal of the asphalt in its internal lanes³⁹⁹. Furthermore, those who practiced sports in the park promised to mobilise in case they lost their space. In response to manifestations, the city government annulled that law and confirmed that they wouldn't remove the asphalt from the entire Park, only from some areas, to create additional groves.

³⁹² Ministério Público contesta ciclovia do Ibirapuera. *Gazeta Mercantil*. São Paulo, August 24, 1994.

³⁹³ Inquérito vai apurar remoção de árvores. *O Estado de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, September 27, 1996.

³⁹⁴ Liminar suspende obra no Ibirapuera. *O Estado de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, September 28, 1996.

³⁹⁵ Frequentador condiciona reforma no Ibirapuera. *O Estado de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, July 15, 1996.

³⁹⁶ 69.6% approved building the auditorium, 70.1% approved the removal of Prodam from inside the park, and 98% approved the planting of new trees. See Juristas dizem que tomar para demolir é ilegal. *O Estado de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, July 10, 1996.

³⁹⁷ 85.8% of Ibirapuera park users went there to practice sports, while 14.2% went there to promenade. *Idem, Ibidem*.

³⁹⁸ According to the survey, 60.3% of the interviewees were against expropriating houses around Ibirapuera Park. *Idem, Ibidem*.

³⁹⁹ 60.8% of interviewees were against removing the asphalt pavement. *Idem, Ibidem*.

Among the things suggested by the 1996 Master Plan, two had popular support and were put into practice years later, when included in the Study of the Environmental Viability of the Master Plan for Ibirapuera Park, which was approved on November 2003. The opening of the large auditorium, next to the marquee and to the Oca building took place at the end of 2004, when a new Master Plan for Ibirapuera Park was being approved. One year later, the Armando de Arruda Pereira Pavilion (the former ‘Palácio dos Estados’), which had housed Prodam since 1973, was emptied. According to the city government, after being renovated the building would be used for cultural exhibitions, dividing its space between the Modern Art Museum and the Contemporary Art Museum (MAC).⁴⁰⁰ The MAC, however, decided against the idea of sharing the building with the MAM and, therefore, the city issued an edict in 2007 on the occupation of the building.

Among other things, the Plan also suggested the construction of a new bicycle path, whose first part had been finished on October 2004. On December of the same year, the Afro Brazil Museum and the new Planetarium were opened. The construction of the underground park lot, approved in July, was still waiting for bidders.

Some actions proposed in the 2004 plan began to be implemented as soon as they were approved by the Study of the Environmental Viability of the Master Plan in 2003. These actions were listed in a study by the Municipal Green and Environment Department, completed in 2001. The study revealed that the park had 24 chronic problems and intended to propose guidelines and discuss possible sources of investment⁴⁰¹. The biggest challenges related to improvements in the public transportation system to the Park, the reconstruction of the bicycle path, the reopening of the planetarium, the renovation of the marquee, the charging of a fee to park inside the Park and the reduction of massive events at the Peace Square with the inauguration of the auditorium.

Paid parking – which, according to the document, was only supposed to happen on big events – should become daily (...)
Bicycles are also targeted by the Department. There are two

⁴⁰⁰ MAM e MAC dividirão prédio no Ibirapuera, afirma Prefeitura. *O Estado de S.Paulo*. São Paulo. February 10, 2005.

⁴⁰¹ Lotado e maltratado, Ibirapuera pede socorro. *O Estado de S.Paulo*. São Paulo. November 2, 2001.

propositions: the construction of a new bicycle path and the prohibition of their circulation on Saturdays and Sundays. The stage at the Peace Square should be replaced by another one, with removable walls, and be used as culture room.⁴⁰²

The reaction of the city government to those issues wasn't very coherent.

The Vienna Symphony Orchestra performed in the park on October 21, an event organized by the city's Culture Department, attracting 25 thousand people. Mayor Marta Suplicy, who was present in the event, assured the audience that such concerts would be taking place in other parks of the city as well⁴⁰³.

Stating that the movement of the city was uninterrupted, the city government decided that the gates of Ibirapuera would not close at 10 pm, but would remain opened until dawn. This action coincided with the beginning of the work to renovate the space where the so-called 'Gay Garden' would be built. On July 2002, a project was launched to transform the place known as 'Autorama' into a 'Space for Homosexual Acquaintanceship', where the homosexuals could date without being repressed. People who lived in the surroundings of the park were against the idea, saying that this space would attract male hustlers and that traffic in the area would get worse. However, the president of a homosexual rights group affirmed that public lighting and police presence at that place (that had been used by the gay community for 10 years) would prevent prostitution. One of the organizers of São Paulo's Gay Parade proposed the building of an office to provide information on the prevention of sexually transmitted diseases⁴⁰⁴.

A street vendors' cooperative was also created at that time because its members needed to adapt itself to the new requirements. Sponsored by a brand of beverages, their polystyrene containers were replaced by standardized green and white fibre cars destined to sell food and drinks⁴⁰⁵.

⁴⁰² Plano restringe uso do Parque Ibirapuera. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo. November 26, 2001.

⁴⁰³ Sinfônica de Viena leva 25 mil pessoas ao Parque do Ibirapuera. *O Estado de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, October 8, 2001.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibirapuera vai ganhar jardim gay. *Diário de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, July 12, 2002.

⁴⁰⁵ Camelôs do parque criam cooperativa. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo February 3, 2002.

‘We wanted something nice and noble for the park, because the intention of the members of the street vendors’ cooperative is to try to win the dispute to manage of the snack bar at the jogging course,’ explained Vivian Vieira, 48, a lawyer and the cooperative’s financial manager.⁴⁰⁶

On November 2002, mayor Marta Suplicy announced the possibility of leasing areas of the park for parties and weddings. The money collected would be allotted to a Special Fund for the Environment and Sustainable Development⁴⁰⁷. Two years earlier, another issue had generated controversies. In the heat of the preparations for the celebration of the 500th anniversary of the discovery of Brazil, the organizers of the exhibitions sponsored the renovation of the Lucas Nogueira Garcez Pavillion, known as Oca, and decided that after the 500-year event, Oca would be opened for other publicly- or privately-organized exhibitions. The MAM accused them of promoting “privatization in disguise” of Ibirapuera Park. They claimed that the MAM had been trying to take over Oca since 1997⁴⁰⁸.

Oca’s renovation consumed R\$ 10 million, equivalent to a quarter of the total budget for the Mostra do Redescobrimento [the 500th anniversary celebration] (...) The air conditioning system used is new in Brazil. At its core is a machine that works like a kind of ice water producer. The water is stored in a hole 20 meters wide and 10 meters deep outside the building. The air released from this ‘glacial swimming pool’ is taken by ducts to the interior of the Oca.⁴⁰⁹

There was no controversy, however, when Ibirapuera was chosen as the symbol of São Paulo in a survey by *Folha de São Paulo* newspaper, when the city celebrated its 450th anniversary, superseding Paulista avenue, which had been chosen by the population in previous surveys⁴¹⁰. The park was chosen even as newspapers were announcing its persistent pollution problem. A study by the Universidade de São

⁴⁰⁶ Camelôs do parque criam cooperativa. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo February 3, 2002.

⁴⁰⁷ População luta contra aluguel do Ibirapuera. *O Estado de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, November 10, 2002.

⁴⁰⁸ MAM vê “privatização branca” do Ibirapuera. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, May 24, 2000.

⁴⁰⁹ São Paulo ganha “oca mais bonita do mundo”. *O Estado de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, February 28, 2000.

⁴¹⁰ Morador elege Ibirapuera símbolo da cidade. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, January 25, 2004.

Paulo (USP) showed unacceptable levels of ozone in the park, a high concentration of inhaling particles and sulphur oxides, representing potential risks for its users⁴¹¹.

News about crimes inside the Park became more frequent. There was a big commotion with the discovery of a network of paedophilia in the so-called 'Autorama', the 6,000 m² area used as a meeting point by homosexuals. The Metropolitan Constabulary, after receiving an anonymous tip, found nine boys and a girl, ranging from nine to seventeen years old, in the place⁴¹².

The text below illustrates the type of articles that newspapers began to publish on sexual practices in the park.

When it grows dark, the area São Paulo's inhabitants most like to visit turns into a kind of openair motel. 'There are days in which we can fill a trash bag with condoms and the place still doesn't get cleaned', said an employee (...) Last Thursday night, two male couples, wearing shirts but with their trousers down, were having sex near gate 7. Other men, in groups or by themselves, stand next to the trees waiting for a date, a partner.⁴¹³

In his campaign, one of the candidates for Ibirapuera's Management Council proposed to create of 'exclusion areas' inside the park where open air sexual intercourse would be allowed⁴¹⁴.

The infrastructure and the landscape of the Park had been increasingly used for events sponsored by Corpore⁴¹⁵, which had promoted 17 hiking and running events in the park since 2003. Some of them were repeated every year, such as Duque de Caxias Trophy and the Christmas Race. Others were more recent, as the Comexport Race-and-Walk, whose slogan – 'fighting and defeating child cancer' – motivated seven thousand people to register in 2008.

⁴¹¹ Estudo alerta para poluição no Ibirapuera. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo, May 29, 2004.

⁴¹² Polícia apura rede de pedofilia no Ibirapuera. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo December 28, 2005.

⁴¹³ À noite, Ibirapuera vira motel a céu aberto. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo March 19, 2006.

⁴¹⁴ Candidato ao conselho gestor do Ibirapuera propõe área de sexo livre no parque. *Jornal da Tarde*. São Paulo June 11, 2008.

⁴¹⁵ Rush atrapalha corredores de rua em seu habitat. *Folha de S.Paulo*. São Paulo July 16, 2006.

In 2006, mayor Gilberto Kassab announced two solutions for the problem of car parking: he made the use of ‘zona azul’⁴¹⁶ cards compulsory (cards that allow parking for a fee) inside the Park and restored the project to build an underground garage for 7 thousand vehicles. To make this project viable, Kassab advocated the incorporation of the parking lot of the nearby State Legislative Assembly, expanding the area of the park by 22,000 m².⁴¹⁷

In 2007, another public department was ordered to leave the Park: the Detran was to be transferred from Agriculture Palace, which would house the MAC.

With the removal of the Prodam in 2005 and the Detran in 2008, the city was given two new ambitious spaces for museums.

On September 2008, guidelines for a new Master Plan for Ibirapuera Park were being approved by Municipal Council for the Preservation of Historical Heritage, Conpresp. The main innovation of the project developed by the Department for Parks and Green Areas was the physical integration of the areas occupied by the Sports Gymnasium, the parking lot of the Legislative Assembly, the Obelisk, the Bandeiras monument and the Detran, future MAC. The integration of these areas demanded studies of their impacts on local traffic and, if this does indeed happen, the actual size of the Park will be increased by 400,000 m², an expansion of roughly 35%.

If the plan is implemented, the lakes will become the dividing boundary of the park. One area (which includes the pavilions and the marquee) will be reserved for artistic and cultural activities; the other will be used for active and contemplative leisure. The Public-Private Partnership System (PPP) will make the construction of the underground parking lot viable. The existing parking areas next to the Biennial building and the Modern Art Museum will be turned into gardens.

Vasco de Melo, a representative of the Brazilian Institute of Architects (IAB) at Conpresp, believes that the new Master Plan will be favourably received, because ‘society wishes to have more green areas in the park’.

⁴¹⁶ Parque Ibirapuera quer adotar zona azul. *Jornal da Tarde*. São Paulo, November 11, 2006.

⁴¹⁷ Kassab agora anuncia garagem no Ibirapuera. *O Estado de S.Paulo*. São Paulo February 3, 2007.

Fig 51: The Ibirapuera Park map – in black the main buildings



Source: Bartalini, Vladimir, 1999. Mimeographed copy.

Besides the issues involving the new museums and the new Master Plan, a conflict has been permeating the representation of Ibirapuera Park. Two contradictory concepts of the use of the marquee and its surroundings polarize the discussions. The Conpresp, which wants to preserve the marquee, did not authorize the execution of part of the auditorium's project by Oscar Niemeyer, which included the removal of 40 meters of the roof of the marquee to build an extension connecting the Oca to the new theatre and forming a new square. In response, a manifest against Conpresp's decision was presented during the 7th International Architecture Biennial), which paid a homage to Oscar Niemeyer. The controversy has now been crawling for almost five years.

6.2.3. Current usage of Ibirapuera Park

Ibirapuera is the most sought-after park in São Paulo and the one with the largest number of attractions. It opens daily from 5 am to 12 midnight. It receives approximately 20,000 visitors from Monday to Friday. On Saturdays, this number is more than three times as much, 70,000, and on Sundays 130,000 people can be found there.

According to data from rule-of-thumb surveys, the Modern Art Museum, the Oca, the Ibirapuera Auditorium, the Biennial Pavilion, the Planetarium and the Vivarium are very dynamically used.

The most sought-after free spaces in the park are the marquee, the lawns, the shores of the lake, the bicycle track, the sidewalks and the jogging track, the snack bars and the playground.

The Ibirapuera Park has a large number of frequent visitors, be it on weekdays or at weekends, but these users do not necessarily live in the neighbourhood. On weekdays, the majority of visitors are middle-class men and women who live far away but work near the park. They go there by car after work and remain there during rush hour – exercising, walking, jogging or stretching.

On weekends, and especially on Sundays, the number of users from both middle and upper-class neighbourhoods and the number of users from lower-class

neighbourhoods seem to be equivalent. Thus, one can see that the profile of the users of the park is heterogeneous. People of all ages can be seen jogging, running, walking or walking their dogs.

The cyclists⁴¹⁸ are a particular group of park users. Most of them⁴¹⁹ come from the south zone of the city, where the park is located. They ride their own bikes to the park and generally come in groups of friends.

At the gates of the park, one is sure to find groups of capoeira, a Brazilian streetfight, as well as regional singers who duel among themselves with songs.

Fig 52: "Capoeira" in the Ibirapuera Park



Source: mundodacapoeira207.wordpress.com/2009/05/

⁴¹⁸ The park currently receives more than 93,000 cyclists per month, 12% of which come from other towns; 62% live in the south zone, 10% live in the east zone, 9% in the north zone and 8% in the west zone.

⁴¹⁹ The cyclists in Ibirapuera Park come from the upper and middle social classes and 70% of them have completed high school or have a University degree.

In the inner lawns, one can occasionally see amateur theatre actors performing or helping out in medical and environmental campaigns.

Groups of youthful rappers meet there every Sunday under the marquee. They almost always get there by bus, coming mostly from the east zone. Although they live near Carmo Park, they prefer to meet at the Ibirapuera Park.

Fig 53: The “Marquise” of Ibirapuera, in front of the Modern Art Museum



Source: Photo by author

Among the groups of youth coming from the outskirts of town there is a larger number of male visitors. Although some of them may also bring their girlfriends over, these are a minority and they do not visit the park as often.

Apart from the rappers, the marquee also shelters groups of roller skaters and skateboarders. Although the roller skaters do not come from the lower classes, the skateboarders, in turn, come from all walks of life.

The queues to see the exhibitions of the Modern Art Museum and Oca are also sheltered by the marquee on weekends. The R\$ 5.00 MAM admission fee is more

affordable than Oca's and admission is free on Mondays. Although not considered truly popular, it is approximately one sixth of the admission fee to Oca.

Oca is famous for its grandiose exhibitions, such as 'Picasso at Oca', the largest retrospective exhibition ever of this Spanish painter in Latin America, 'Painted Bodies at Oca' and 'Dinos at the Oca'. Despite its pricey admission fees, the exhibitions at Oca are seen by large crowds from the middle and upper classes on Sunday afternoons.

Fig 54: "Oca" in the Ibirapuera Park



Source: marjoriekaroline.blogspot.com/2010/01/downloa...

The Biennial Pavilion houses some of the most important events in the city, including the first major event that opens the city's annual calendar, the São Paulo Fashion Week, bringing together the most influential names in Brazilian fashion twice a year: in January (winter fashion) and in July (summer fashion). This event is part of the international fashion calendar.

Two major events take place every other year at the Biennial Pavilion, in turns: in odd years, the Biennial Exhibition of Arts; in even years, the Biennial Exhibition of Architecture.

In addition, this Pavilion houses major fairs and congresses, like the Adventure Sports Fair, the most important sports and tourism fair in Latin America, visited by at least 64,000 people.

The Ibirapuera Auditorium was sponsored by a private telephone company that donated the building to the city. (There is also an Ibirapuera Auditorium Institute that is responsible for managing the auditorium and is part of the Civil Partnership of Public Interest.)

Fig 55: “Bienal” Pavillion in the Ibirapuera Park.



Source: www.cultura.sp.gov.br/portal/site/SEC/menuite...

Fig 56: The Ibirapuera Auditorium



Source: www.parquedoibirapuera.com/noticias_detalhe.p...

The shows follow a curatorial orientation that stimulates mingling celebrated artists and new musical talents.

The Manequinho Lopes Vivarium offers a different kind of entertainment for park visitors. Every year, its seeds and bushes are used in public gardens and to embellish the city's streets and avenues. Not only does it produce and keep seeds, but the nursery also performs external work for gardens and flower beds around the city. Visitors can see several Brazilian tree species, like pau-brasil, ipê and tipuana, among others.

. The Carmo Park

7.1. FROM DEVELOPMENTALISM TO ENVIRONMENTALISM

Parque do Carmo is located in the East Zone of São Paulo, in a district known as Parque do Carmo, part of the Itaquera subdivision. The park is surrounded by the following neighbourhoods: Guaianazes, São Miguel Paulista, Ermelino Matarazzo, Vila Matilde, Artur Alvim and Cidade Líder. A little farther away are Penha, São Mateus, Cidade Tiradentes and Itaim Paulista. The region is noticeably poor.

The history of settlement in the East Zone has peculiar characteristics. In the beginning of the 20th century, Brás and other eastern settlements were separated from the rest of the city by the wetlands of the Tamanduateí river. Both areas were connected by only a few roads, in the Pari and Luz neighbourhoods. The separation was more evident between Cambuci and Moóca, in the Carmo wetlands (present-day Dom Pedro II Park).⁴²⁰

The presence of railroads, industrial development and migration bouts caused the region to expand, so that in the 1920s Brás was considered the ‘industrial lung’ of the metropolis and the East Side corresponded to ‘a compactly built area (...) that included Brás, Moóca and Belenzinho, dissected at three different points by railroads’ and ‘a zone of newly built neighbourhoods located in the environs of the Tietê river (east bank) and the Penha hill.’⁴²¹

The easternmost areas, the site of today’s Carmo Park and its surrounding neighbourhoods, were made up at the time by farms, away from the city. This does not mean that some type of settlement did not already exist. The outset of São Miguel Paulista, for instance, dates back to the 16th century, with the Jesuit catechism of the Guaianese Indians. Nevertheless, it was not until the early 19th century that a visible cluster had formed around the church, followed by a range of diverse adjacent villages, including Itaquera, Ponte Rasa and Lageado. In 1875, the Central do Brasil

⁴²⁰ PETRONE, Pasquale. A cidade de São Paulo no século XX: São Paulo transforma-se em metrópole industrial. *Revista de História*. São Paulo, Ano VI, (21 & 22), jan./jul. 1955.

⁴²¹ *Idem, Ibidem*. p. 141.

railroad, in addition to the North Station (present-day Roosevelt station), expanded to include the Penha, Itaquera, Lageado, Poá, Suzano and Mogi das Cruzes stations.⁴²²

During the 1940s, vast unoccupied areas remained in the region, even around densely populated townships such as Moóca, Belém, Tatuapé and Penha. Access to the East Side from downtown was possible by urban train lines and Rangel Pestana (Downtown-Brás) and Celso Garcia (Brás-Penha) avenues, where bus⁴²³ lines operated. At the same time, São Miguel Road linked Penha to townships located further east. The space was explored and subdivided into plots (clandestine or not), aimed at the poorest segments of society.

This population acquired land (which almost always lacked any sort of infrastructure) and built their houses with their own hands, without paying attention to any legislation. In this type of housebuilding, two completely different agents played a role: on one side, the real estate agents who sold the plots; on the other, the people who built their own house. This configuration of land occupation and the style of building, typical of the São Paulo suburbs, can be clearly seen today in the local scenery.

Fig 57: Houses by Carmo Park



Source: Photo by author.

⁴²² VILLAÇA, Flávio J. Magalhães. 1998. p. 84.

⁴²³ Radial Leste, an avenue that today crosses the entire region, was built in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The Eastern subway line (which is not underground) runs beside Radial and its segments – Parque D. Pedro, Brás, Bresser, Belém, Tatuapé, Carrão, Penha, Vila Matilde, Artur Alvim, Corinthians-Itaquera – consecutively, built gradually during the 1980s.

In this period, an ideological question was raised concerning the issue of housing for the working class. House ownership (access to property) started to represent the reward of hard work and sacrifice. As the State⁴²⁴ took responsibility for the ‘housing problem’, it gained greater control over the workers, who were isolated in their houses⁴²⁵.

The Tenant Law of 1942, turned off capital stimulus in the rental⁴²⁶ market, and thus further contributed to the East Side occupation through the triad suburban subdivision-house ownership-self-construction. This type of expansion, defined as a ‘peripheral pattern of urban growth’ occurred everywhere in the outskirts of São Paulo – and, as seen in the previous chapter, led to a nine-fold increase in the urban footprint.

At the same time that the State’s interventions sought to minimize the housing need, a movement emerged in the 1940s. Although it was “frowned upon” by the State, it proliferated as an alternative and precarious housing model, giving rise to the *favelas* (slums) of São Paulo. According to Rolnik:

Starting in the 1930s, a territorial pact was established, by which illegal housing was tolerated to be later negotiated and controlled by the State. One of the conditions of this pact was that the State would take on the role of provider, while those who lived on illegal real estate would become indebted to the State, since from a judicial

⁴²⁴ The federal government created the Fundação da Casa Popular (Popular House Foundation). Furthermore, in the 1940s, the Institute of Retirement and Pensions focused on housing production.

⁴²⁵ Ribeiro e Cardoso highlight that preservation of the family and the possibility of increasing the workforce were strategically explored by the dictatorship of Getúlio Vargas. ‘In the representations of the elite of the Estado Novo [the ‘New State’ of the dictatorship], development of social policies in the housing sector had strategic meaning and, therefore, at the same time, increased the work capacity and created social peace through the preservation of the family.’ RIBEIRO, Luiz César de Q.; CARDOSO, Adauto Lúcio. RIBEIRO, Luiz César de Q. e Cardoso, Adauto Lúcio. *Da cidade à nação: Gênese e evolução do urbanismo no Brasil*. In: RIBEIRO, Luiz Cesar Q. e PECHMAN, Robert (org.) *Cidade, povo e nação. Gênese do urbanismo moderno*. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1996, p. 62.

⁴²⁶ The rented house was the dominant form of housing for the middle and low-income classes until the 1930s. In 1920, only 19.1% and in 1925 only 23.8% of the city’s buildings were occupied by the owners. Data from the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) reveals that this situation continued until the late 1930s: ‘In 1940, only 25% of households was occupied by the owners.’ BONDUKI, Nabil Georges. *Origens da habitação social no Brasil: arquitetura moderna, lei do inquilinato e difusão da casa própria*. São Paulo: Estação Liberdade: FAPESP, 1998. p. 44.

viewpoint their actions were worthy of punishment and did not constitute a legal acquisition. In the outskirts of the city, the pact was reinforced in the context of democracy, whereby urban improvements captivated votes and neighbourhood leaders became politicians.⁴²⁷

Regarding the expansion of illegal neighbourhoods, Bonduki interprets the omission of the State as a strategy to promote self-construction and, thereby, to concentrate the reproduction of the workforce represented by housing on the workers.

With the expansion of the peripheral neighbourhoods, the elite safeguarded two of its goals: to eliminate clutter and segregate. In this way, public investments could be concentrated in areas inhabited by the middle and upper classes, while workers would have access to affordable housing without drying up public or private funds.⁴²⁸

Therefore, in the 1950s, spatial segregation⁴²⁹ had established a socio-spatial order in the city of São Paulo. The southwest was the richest region of the city and the East Side the poorest. In the 1960s, the East Side was, according to Villaça, ‘the worst region of the city’⁴³⁰. Lacking industries, it included many neighbourhoods whose population⁴³¹, living far away from the largest concentration of jobs, namely,

⁴²⁷ ROLNIK, Raquel. *A cidade e a lei: legislação, política urbana e territórios na cidade de São Paulo*. São Paulo: Studio Nobel, 1997. p. 204.

⁴²⁸ BONDUKI, Nabil Georges, 1998. p. 288.

⁴²⁹ The initial stages of spatial segregation took place in the late 19th century. As we discussed in Chapter V, until then the central ‘triangle’ of the city harbored shopping and services as well as middle and upper class housing, while periphery was occupied by farms.

⁴³⁰ VILLAÇA, 1998.p.10.

⁴³¹ Using systematic raw data from Lebrete’s Research, still in the beginning of its investigations (1960/1970), Villaça concluded that there were three categories of population: ‘One that is able to live close to the city’s main shopping areas (downtown) e near most jobs (also downtown). It is this population that wins the battle for privileged location represented by the proximity to the center. The second category of neighborhoods are those that house the population that attains only one of these objectives. They live close to the job (factories) but away from the city’s main shopping areas. They are the lower classes and their neighbourhoods are near industrial zones. Finally, the third and last category of neighbourhoods are those that are far away from everything. It is the East Side. The East Side (...) was (and still is) very lacking in industries. It is also far away from most jobs that and main shopping areas (and also from the major employment centres) of the city. It is the worst region in the city.’ VILLAÇA, Flávio J. Magalhães. *Sistematização crítica da obra escrita pelo Prof. Dr. Flávio José Magalhães Villaça sobre o espaço urbano*. Livre Docência. Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo/ FAUUSP, São Paulo, 1988. Mimeographed copy. p. 10.

downtown, was forced to commute daily in order to work. In the 1970s, however, it was superseded in poverty concentration by the South Side, when Campo Limpo became the region with the fastest growing number of *favelados*⁴³² (slum dwellers), as the process of *favelização* (slum formation) became widespread in São Paulo.

Considering that the logic of slum formation involves the search for housing near employment centres, the East Side, due to its location, was not an attractive area for this type of settlement (unlike the south and southwest) in the boom period of slum formation. According to Kowarick:

Traditionally, the slum introduced itself as a means of survival for the poor in at least two ways. First of all, it saved money in housing, which represents a bit less than one fourth of a typical working family's budget. Secondly, as slums tend to extend around employment centres, the poor would save money commuting between home and work, as public transportation represents 9% of their budget.⁴³³

Furthermore, being a markedly poor area that expanded according to peripheral growth standards, the East Side also allowed the formation of favelas. In the late 1970s, it held 7.4 % of all favelas in the city; by 1993, this ratio had gone up to 14.5%.

The make-up of the East Side is very distinct. The region's profile is totally distinct, with the presence of recent slums on public land. Only slightly over 20% of its agglomeration were built before 1970. The largest number of shacks are on the extreme east, in Itaquera-Guaianases.⁴³⁴

⁴³² In the 1970s, the process of slum formation became prominent in São Paulo. In the beginning of the decade, slum dwellers made up 1% of the city's population. In the 1980s, slum dwellers were well over 7% of the population. See TASCHNER, Suzana Pasternak; Vêras, Maura Pardini Bicudo. *Evolução e mudanças das favelas paulistanas. Espaço & Debates. Revista de Estudos Regionais e Urbanos*. São Paulo: Núcleo de Estudos Regionais e Urbanos, nº 31, 1990. p. 54.

⁴³³ KOWARICK, Lucio. *A espoliação urbana*. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1979. p. 86-87.

⁴³⁴ TASCHNER, Suzana Pasternak. *Degradação ambiental nas favelas em São Paulo. Espaço & Debates: Revista de Estudos Regionais e Urbanos nº 39*. São Paulo: Núcleo de Estudos Regionais e Urbanos, 1996, p. 107

Carmo Park was inaugurated on September 1976, a critical period immediately after a time called 'Brazilian miracle' (1969-1973), when economic growth and development had created the illusion of Brazil as a 'super power.'

In reality, as we have seen, the so-called 'Brazilian miracle' was a particularly paradoxical period in the country's history. At the same time that the economy was enjoying exceptional growth, poverty and income disparities also grew extraordinarily. While the economy grew 10% and productivity 33% a year, the average income of half the workers fell by 15%.⁴³⁵ During the Brazilian miracle, São Paulo's finances benefited in two ways. Not only was the expansion of the industrial model favourable to the city, but the tax reform of 1967 also contributed to increase public funds, when it was determined that state and municipal collection of taxes would be passed to the townships. Hence, during this period, massive investments were made in the transportation system (avenues, overpasses, subways). All this investment, however, did not occur alongside a movement to preserve and create green areas throughout the city. Up until 1974, there had been no systematic action in favour of public parks, plazas or gardens.

This scenario was about to change, even if in a restricted manner, because the Brazilian miracle was undergoing a crisis. Between 1974 and 1982⁴³⁶, during a critical period for public funds, twelve parks were built in the city. Besides the urgent need for public authorities to look at the problem of green spaces in São Paulo, a fundamental issue contributed to the new picture: with the 1970s the ideal of daily leisure in Brazil, which penetrated and proliferated deeply. The studies of Santanna show that importing the ideal of leisure during a period of crisis of the Brazilian miracle and the crisis the military dictatorship itself had a clarifying ideology, which is, mask the signs of weakness of the developmentism.

In this manner, parks became part of the public administration's agenda. In 1969, the city Department of Sports (Secretaria Municipal de Esportes) was created and the Youth Night Centres (Centros Juvenis Noturnos) were remodelled. In 1970,

⁴³⁵ KOWARICK, Lúcio; CAMPANÁRIO, Milton A. São Paulo: metrópole do subdesenvolvimento industrializado. In: KOWARICK, Lúcio (org.) *As lutas sociais e a cidade: São Paulo, passado e presente*. São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 1988. p. 29-46.

⁴³⁶ Between 1974 and 1982, São Paulo got the following parks: Guarapiranga (1974), Carmo (1976), Piqueri (1978), Vila dos Remédios (1979), Previdência (1979), Anhangüera (1979), São Domingos (1980), Nabuco (1980), Raposo Tavares (1981), Conceição (1981), Rodrigo Gaspari (1982) and Parque Ecológico do Tietê (1982), the latter one built by the state government.

the Municipal Department of Social Well-Being launched a project called Recreation Streets. The campaigns Sports for Everyone and Move were created on national level (launched by the Union of Banks and Globo Television Network in 1975). With regard to creating parks, Bartalini notices coincidences and discrepancies in the dissemination of the ideal of leisure in São Paulo vis-à-vis the American model. Beginning with Cranz's (1982) classic research on the creation of public parks in the United States, Bartalini concludes that the absence of systematic investment in green areas in São Paulo led to a unique approach to leisure by the city government, interested in a hasty importation of past and current models.⁴³⁷

So the sports courts and running tracks become indispensable elements in public parks, being installed both in new and old parks whenever physical conditions allowed. Produced with multiple purposes in mind, the public parks have sought since then to serve the population in terms of the practice of sports, entertainment and recreation.⁴³⁸

Throughout the 1970s, city officials began establishing effective strategies in order to deliver green areas for recreational purposes. Legislation and expropriation efforts to implement parks were improved, even if this did not prevent a process of annihilating the city's park potential during this time. According to Kliass,⁴³⁹ the new parks were built outside the city's urban footprint. In this sense, Schreiber⁴⁴⁰ noted that although the municipal government established some parks between 1974 and 1982, a period marked by the crowding and expansion of the city, which did not prevent the city from receiving the stereotypical name of "city of concrete" or "gray city".

⁴³⁷ BARTALINI, Vladimir. *Parques Públicos municipais de São Paulo*. Dissertation for Doctor's Degree. Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo da Universidade de São Paulo/ FAUUSP. São Paulo, 1999. Mimeographed copy.

⁴³⁸ ANTAS JR., R. M. *Espaços públicos e lazer. globalização e instrumentalização do tempo livre na cidade São Paulo*. Dissertation for Master's Degree. Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas da Universidade de São Paulo. Geography Department. São Paulo, 1995. Mimeographed copy.

⁴³⁹ KLIASS, Rosa Grena. *Parques urbanos de São Paulo e sua evolução na cidade*. São Paulo: Pini, 1993. p.58.

⁴⁴⁰ SCHREIBER, Y. *Domingo no parque. Um estudo da relação homem-natureza na metrópole paulistana*. Dissertation for Doctor's Degree. Departamento de Ciências Sociais. Faculdade de Filosofia Letras e Ciências Humanas da Universidade de São Paulo/USP. São Paulo, 1997. Mimeographed copy.

Five of the twelve parks were created between 1975 and 1979, during the administration of Olavo Setubal, two of them on the East Side: Carmo Park, in 1976, and Piqueri Park, in 1978.

Olavo Setubal incorporated the land of the Old Carmo farm by issuing decree nº 12.705 on March 8, 1976, the largest land expropriation in the history of São Paulo at the time, since the farm had over 7.2 million square meters and harboured an industrial plant, a recycling plant, a nursing home and a nunnery.

The farm had been purchased by Oscar Americano from the Bento Pires de Campos family in 1951, who in turn had bought it from the religious order Província Carmelita Fluminense (currently Ordem Terceira do Carmo) in 1919. Província Carmelita owned a much larger farm, Caguaçu Farm, since the late 17th century, with prosperous coffee and orange plantations. Around 1910, Caguaçu Farm was subdivided and the Carmelitas sold one of these plots to Bento Pires de Campos, who named it Carmo Farm and started the urbanization of the area with the Companhia Comercial Pastoril and Agrícola.⁴⁴¹ He founded Vila Carmosina, which was renamed Colônia Nipônica with the arrival of the Japanese in 1925. On this land, an important peach plantation was harvested.⁴⁴²

When the land was expropriated, a controversy arose with regard to the type of transaction involved, because the Carmo Farm was located in a rural area at the time. According to legislation, if a rural estate was divided into lots, 20% of the surface had to be preserved as green area. This meant that if the farm was indeed parcelled out in lots, the mayor would not have to pay for the green area, because the donated area would amount to 1.5 million square meters, more than enough to create a public park. Indeed, the park's area was exactly 1,500,359 m², a little more than 20% of the original land.

But the city government did not inform if the large area would be subdivided into lots or not, and all sorts of rumours began to circulate. According to the newspaper *O Jornal da Tarde*, Olavo Sebutal was being pressured to give lots to a golf club and to the military, who wished to build some barracks there. The mayor, however, refuted all rumours and told the newspaper that would not happen.

⁴⁴¹ KLIASS, Rosa Grena. 1993

⁴⁴² Fazenda do Carmo já é parque. *Folha de São Paulo*. São Paulo, September 17, 1976.

Three years after the park's inauguration, during the administration of Reynaldo Barros (1979-1982), part of the remaining area, located in a topographically steep area, was bought by the Metropolitan Housing Company (COHAB), to build large popular housing projects. However, environmental movements that were emerging in the region began to demand that that remaining large segment of the Atlantic Forest be not cut down and be transformed into an 'area of environmental protection', or APA.

A few days before the opening ceremony, mayor Olavo Setubal signed an executive order that transformed the old Carmo Farm into a public park. Decree no. 13,540, from September 16, 1976, considered the lack of vegetation and green areas in the East Side, a densely populated area lacking urban improvements, as well as the health, leisure and well being of its inhabitants. It also brought historical aspects to bear, as well as the protection of wellsprings and the fledgling tourism industry in the region. The area was considered of special usage under the zoning law.

On the day of the inauguration party, September 19, 1976, the mayor and the state governor (Paulo Egídio) did not miss the opportunity to promote their respective administrations and raise votes to their political party, Arena. The ceremony began with a flag-raising at the farm's former head office. They both then addressed the crowd. Other public authorities were also invited, gave speeches and walked through the park, where they planted trees (the lieutenant of the Second Military Region planted a sapling of pau-brasil). There were presentations by students of a local public school exalting the green, a fanfare exhibition, a demonstration of military police dogs, and concerts by the military police band and a samba school.

In his speech, the mayor informed that the city hall had reserved over 1.5 million square meters to be incorporated to the park, which would be expanded to 3 million square meters.

The park director's speech revealed signs of environmental ideas linked to the international ecological movement. He affirmed that the fact that the park had sparked such huge curiosity meant that, little by little, people were becoming aware of the need to respect natural resources.

According to the newspaper *Folha de São Paulo*⁴⁴³, about 50,000 people attended the opening ceremony of Carmo Park. The newspaper *Jornal da Tarde*⁴⁴⁴, however, estimated that 100,000 people were present. There was certainly a great volume of people at the opening ceremony, and it was even said that thousands of others had tried to attend the event but could not get there due to the congested road traffic. According to the media, traffic became chaotic due to the cluster of signs that were posted on the Radial Leste expressway, giving the idea that there was only one way to get to the park.

Only 30% of the park was being opened that day, however, and the population had access to only 230,000 m². There was a rumour that the remaining area had been restricted as a precautionary measure, because of the presence of snakes.

The mayor reinforced the rumour when, during an interview, he mentioned the existence of snakes in the park, aiming to prove that the area was in perfect environmental balance. He also said that when the park opened completely, it would be the largest one in the city. He further confirmed city hall's commitment to incorporate adjacent areas as soon as the implementation of the project had been concluded.

The development of an urbanization project and the works to be carried out fell to the Municipal Department of Parks and Gardens. The plan included sports courts, jogging tracks, parking lots⁴⁴⁵, an amphitheatre, playground, belvederes, areas for crafts fairs and picnics, an ecological museum, hiking trails⁴⁴⁶, circulation paths⁴⁴⁷ and even a train for visitors to ride in and birds and monkeys near the big lake. Most of the existing buildings would be put to new use and the ones that would be built would have a low occupation rate to better integrate into the local scenery. The project had an implicit strategy, namely, to distribute visitors throughout all areas of the park, so as not to overload the lawns and equipment. The park was expected to be fully

⁴⁴³ O governador e o prefeito entregam a São Paulo a sua maior área verde. *Folha de São Paulo*. São Paulo, September 20, 1976.

⁴⁴⁴ Primeiro dia do novo parque: cem mil visitantes. *Jornal da Tarde*. São Paulo, September 20, 1976.

⁴⁴⁵ The plan called for peripheral parking for 2,300 vehicles, in addition to the surrounding avenues, which could hold another 1,500 cars.

⁴⁴⁶ 4,200 meters of internal walkways would be reserved for pedestrians.

⁴⁴⁷ There would also be 4,700 meters of paved ways for the circulation of pedestrians and maintenance vehicles.

implemented in two years, but according to the testimony of a city worker who worked on the project, the impact of the Master Plan of the Carmo Park would be mainly felt 5 or more years later, when the new subway line to the East Side began operations.

Fig 58: Weekend barbecue in the Carmo Park



Source: Photo by author

The notion that the plan for the Carmo Park aimed at integrating leisure and nature, and that it was being carried out according to international experiences, was published daily in the newspapers. It was also said that the park was the first one to follow a global plan that included both concepts of use and destination.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁸ O Carmo aumenta e Itaquera terá o distrito industrial. *Folha de São Paulo*. São Paulo, September 24, 1976.

7.2. USES AND REPRESENTATIONS OF CARMO PARK⁴⁴⁹

During the two months that followed its inauguration, when only a fifth of the total area of the park had been opened to the public, walking along the margins of the lake at Carmo Park was a difficult task and took nearly one hour to complete. Because of the large number of people inside and around the Park, where vendors of ice-cream and popcorn had sprouted, the newspapers published that it wasn't easy to visit the new Park on weekends. They said that Carmo had quickly turned into the main point of attraction of the East Side and that its users treated that public space in an exemplary way, since there was no depredation of the park's equipment or vegetation.⁴⁵⁰

In the first month, it was difficult to visit the new park because of the traffic in the roads that led to it. According to *Folha de S. Paulo*, the road signs at the Radial Leste expressway conveyed the idea that there was only one entrance and caused havoc in the traffic. On October, when the traffic system was reorganized by the DSV, access to the park on weekends became much easier. The constant complaints about the shortage of buses led the city government to create a special bus line departing from Sé Square downtown to Carmo Park. The new line would only function on Saturdays, Sundays and holidays.⁴⁵¹

On November 13, the park's orchard, bordering the lake and the area behind the coffee plantation was opened to public use. The area of the park now totalled 440,000 m², almost 30% of the planned total area. However, a decrease in attendance was now visible. The buses that went to the park remained crowded and, as a result, many of the visitors who lived in the region had to go by foot, but the number of

⁴⁴⁹ Analogously to case of the Ibirapuera Park mentioned in the previous chapter, the uses and representations of Carmo Park, presented in a chronological manner, correspond to the analytical-regressive stage of the regressive-progressive method. As it was previously clarified in the theoretical-methodological chapter, the analytical-regressive stage is precisely the moment when the described practices and representations have to be dated. In this case, the data obtained from unstructured interviews, besides Depave's records and above all, newspapers, were organized in order to establish an analytical view of the practices and representations of the Carmo Park since its inauguration.

⁴⁵⁰ CMTTC chega ao Parque do Carmo. *Folha de São Paulo*. São Paulo, October 2, 1976. DSV acertou com o trânsito no Parque do Carmo neste domingo. *Folha de São Paulo*. São Paulo, October 4, 1976. Entregue apenas a quinta parte do Parque. *Folha de São Paulo*. São Paulo, October 18, 1976. Carmo só será parque completo em dois anos. *Folha de São Paulo*. São Paulo, October 18, 1976.

⁴⁵¹ Trânsito ruim impede acesso ao novo Parque. *Folha de São Paulo*. São Paulo, September 27, 1976. 'Difícil acesso ao Carmo.' *Folha de São Paulo*. São Paulo, September 27, 1976.

visitors who went by car decreased. The newspapers started to criticise the lack of basic equipment for the comfort and safety of the population. According to *Folha de S. Paulo*, there were only 2 toilets and the playground was not only small for the huge number of children but was also totally exposed to sunlight, having no shelter or shade at all. The only attractions of the Park were actually the lake and the open space. All the buildings, except the administration were closed. In response to this criticism, the city informed that investment would be made in the park's infrastructure.⁴⁵²

One year later, news of the park revealed some improvements. Besides new toilets, there was an infirmary, with an ambulance available for urgencies, and inspectors prepared to look for lost children. On June 1977, adding to the existing fauna – which comprised irerês (*Dendrocygna viduata*), bem-te-vis (*Pitangus sulphuratus*), sabiás (*Turdidae*), coleirinhas (*Sporophila caerulescens*) and chupins (*Molothrus bonariensis*) –, the park was given 250 aquatic birds (swans, egrets, drakes, geese and wild ducks) and 20 monkeys to be placed on the islands of the lake. The animals were treated by specialized employees and protected by 22 guards who, in the weekends, secured the preservation of the park's fauna and flora.⁴⁵³

The year of 1977 was also characterized by the planting of cherry trees, transforming Carmo Park into a singular landscape of the city. The initiative of cultivating these trees came from members of the Japanese community in the neighbourhood, who were charmed by the new park and wished to prepare the place for the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of Japanese immigration to the city of São Paulo. Moved, mayor Olavo Setubal strove to bring the project about and have the cherry trees ready for the party in 1978. The sakura cherry tree was the species chosen because adapted well to the weather conditions of the East Side. Nevertheless, the trees, which were brought from Japan in the first semester of 1977, had to undergo a period of adaptation in Campos do Jordão. The planting ceremony was accompanied by the Military Police Band and was attended by students of 600 schools and representatives of 18 Japanese-Brazilian associations in the East Side.⁴⁵⁴ Topping

⁴⁵² O Parque do Carmo com mais 90 mil m². *Folha de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, November 13, 1976. Movimento no Carmo foi pequeno. *Folha de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, January 24, 1977. Parque do Carmo nada oferece a seus visitantes. *Folha de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, June 13, 1977.

⁴⁵³ As aves do Parque. *Jornal da Tarde*, São Paulo. June 7, 1977.

⁴⁵⁴ Parque do Carmo ganha 300 cerejeiras. *Folha de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, June 17, 1977.

expectations, the trees flowered in only 2 ½ months. In the beginning of the following year, the park received other 200 seedlings.⁴⁵⁵ On the date of the celebration on July 1978, more than 305 trees had already been planted, totalling 605 cherry trees of that species, and Carmo Park was the only place in São Paulo with that type of tree.⁴⁵⁶

Fig 59: Cherry trees in Carmo Park



Source: arvoresdesaopaulo.wordpress.com/.../

On February 1978, half of the full 1,550,000 m² was available for public use. Although the old plantation farm house wasn't yet being used, the building of the administration remained opened every day and there were employees to orient the public. The lakes, with clean and running water, had three of their islands inhabited by monkeys – a different attraction for the children. The lawns were well treated and, in the natural woods, people were allowed to circulate on approximately 300 square meters, but an area of wild forest remained closed and preserved. Six thousand seedlings were planted, among them fruit trees to attract birds, and a gardening school was opened. Roofed areas for public use were being constructed. Recreation equipment, barbecues, five kiosks with 12-meter diameter and a parking lot for 3,500 cars were going to be built. Sports courts were also planned. It was said that, when finished, Carmo would be the best-equipped park of the city. There were plans to

⁴⁵⁵ Um encontro com a natureza. *Folha de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, February 24, 1978.

⁴⁵⁶ Parque do Carmo ganha mais árvores. *Folha de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, July 18, 1978.

implement awareness-raising projects for the population to inform them about the importance of preserving the fauna and flora, because attendance during weekends continued to increase and, during the week, schools, nursing homes and day care centres offered excursions to the park. According to some employees, the number of users increased considerably during summer and, as a result, problems with robbery and theft became more frequent.⁴⁵⁷

On June 1978, another 40,000 m² were opened. The population could now enjoy 1,2 million square meters, something like 80% of the area of the park.⁴⁵⁸ The constant depredation of flower beds led the Lions Club to propose to the city the organization of an awareness-raising campaign to alert the users to the necessity of preserving the area. They also suggested the creation of booths to sell plant seedlings and flower vases and distribute of leaflets. The mayor, however, was against these suggestions.⁴⁵⁹

On September 1978, many of the planned improvements started to work. The parking lot for 3,500 cars, 5 kiosks, 6 toilets and the system of internal lanes (9,600 meters of gravel-covered streets) were finally available for public use. The playground for children was extended, offering 140 attractions and the city announced that another 50 would soon be installed.⁴⁶⁰

However, even being the largest of the city, the playground wasn't big enough for the number of children that attended the park on weekends in March 1979. Parents and their children complained of the difficulty to get a swing. On that month, 150,000 people visited the park on weekends.⁴⁶¹ In October, the construction of courts for indoor soccer, basketball and volleyball and an amphitheatre for performances of choirs and orchestras was announced. A jogging track surrounding the woods was inaugurated on the following month and its 800 meters were equipped with signs to guide the practice of physical exercises.⁴⁶²

⁴⁵⁷ Um encontro com a natureza. *Folha de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, February 24, 1978.

⁴⁵⁸ Parque do Carmo já está liberado. *Folha da Tarde*. São Paulo, June 29, 1978.

⁴⁵⁹ Lions sugere campanha para preservar Parque do Carmo. *Folha da Tarde*. São Paulo, August 8, 1978.

⁴⁶⁰ Parque do Carmo está reaberto para o povo. *Folha da Tarde*. São Paulo, September 19, 1978.

⁴⁶¹ Mais 50 brinquedos no Parque do Carmo. *Folha da Tarde*. São Paulo, March 17, 1979.

⁴⁶² Parque do Carmo ganhará quadra de esportes. *Folha da Tarde*. São Paulo, October 8, 1979.

On Christmas Eve 1979, the city organized a concert with groups of musicians of regional Brazilian music, including the *calango* from the state of Minas Gerais, the *cururu* from the state of São Paulo and the *repente* from the northeast states of Brazil.⁴⁶³ Two thousand people attended the concert organised by the Symphony in the Parks project with a performance by Symphonic Band of the Military Police on July 1980. The behaviour of the audience during the concert and the satisfaction of the population were praised by the press. The same project, in the end of the year, took to Carmo Park the Young People's Symphonic Orchestra, formed by 70 young musicians conducted by John Neschling, and, on May 1981, approximately 5,000 people watched excitedly a theatre play and a dance show.⁴⁶⁴

With the planting of another 500 cherry trees, the park attained the record of 1,107 trees and became the world's biggest cherry orchard. The fact was celebrated on 11 July 1981, a Sunday, with the presence of mayor Reinaldo Barros, the Japanese Consul and representatives of Japanese-Brazilian entities.⁴⁶⁵

After a while, many newspapers in São Paulo announced that Carmo Park was practically abandoned and had suffered notorious depredation. In addition to damage to plants and animals, the playground equipments were rusted (causing accidents), the sandboxes were full of earth and stones, and the destruction of fences of the lake didn't prevent children from swimming. The press also announced that the fence that surrounded the park had been breached in several points by car accidents. The circulation of vehicles in high speed represented a danger to park users, who were constantly run over by cars. Because the sports courts had not been opened yet, the practice of ball sports in the lawns near the playground were causing accidents. The small train that was supposed to go around the Park wasn't working yet, even though the dedicated lane was finished. The amphitheatre wasn't used and was covered by vegetation.⁴⁶⁶

⁴⁶³ No Parque do Carmo, Folclore. *Folha da Tarde*. São Paulo, December 24, 1979.

⁴⁶⁴ Sinfonia nos Parques apresenta Banda da PM. *Folha da Tarde*, São Paulo, July 28, 1980. Parque do Carmo: mil aplaudem peça e dança. *Folha da Tarde*. São Paulo, May 25, 1981. Hoje a sinfonia é no Parque do Carmo. *Folha de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, December 7, 1980.

⁴⁶⁵ Parque do Carmo, maior bosque de cerejeiras. *Folha de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, June 11, 1981.

⁴⁶⁶ Parque do Carmo, abandonado, só oferece riscos. *Folha da Tarde*. São Paulo, May 19, 1982. Parque do Carmo está abandonado. *Folha de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, May 19, 1982.

On 11 June 1981, users complained of the bad smell of a rivulet that ran alongside the toilets, at the entrance of the parking lot.

The complaints led the Municipal Department of Services and Works to visit Carmo Park, arrange the repair of playground equipments and the remodelling of the amphitheatre. He declared that it was an exaggeration to affirm that the park was abandoned, because the great lawns were well trimmed, the trees conserved, the animals well fed and the water of the lakes clean.⁴⁶⁷ The new amphitheatre, planned and executed by the Department for Services and Works, was inaugurated only on May 1984. It occupied 54,000 m² and capacity for 60,000 people, the biggest open air, acoustic shell in Brazil. On the opening day, music groups and samba schools performed there.⁴⁶⁸ The city also planned to create a museum explaining the origins of Carmo Park and an area designed to show the history of the East Side. The museum would be placed in the old plantation house of Carmo farm.⁴⁶⁹ A description of the park's vegetation in 1985 stated that:

the area includes hillsides facing the northeast, limited in the south by the waters division of the Aricanduva and Verde rivers. The various springs found in the area were embanked to form a big lake. The hills in the region are 70 meters above the level of the lake, with slopes between 5% and 20%. The biggest declivities occur along the drain lines, coinciding with the presence of native vegetation. Natural landscapes are predominant in the park: the existing equipment (children's recreation area, amphitheatre, barbecues) is distributed amidst big fields and groves. A big parking lot was built in a very damaged area. Inside the park, along Sampaio e Souza Avenue, there is a fire brigade and the Italma factory. The predominance of grass lawns on soft slopes and along the margins of the lake are interrupted by cave depressions along the drain lines. This formation is typical of the secondary forests of the eastern side of the city. They are prominent because of their frequency and size, which differ from their usually uniform character: tapiá (*crataeva*

⁴⁶⁷ Secretário inspeciona o Parque do Carmo. *Folha da Tarde*. São Paulo, May 20, 1982. Depois da festa. *Folha de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, May 20, 1982.

⁴⁶⁸ Parque do Carmo ganha teatro ao ar livre para 60 mil pessoas. *Folha de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, May 14, 1984.

⁴⁶⁹ Parque do Carmo poderá ter museu. *Folha de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, October 16, 1983.

tapiá), ambaúba (tree of the *Urticaceae* family), camboatã (*Cupania oblongifolia*), manacá-da-serra (*Tibouchina mutabilis*), jacaré (*Piptadenia gonoacantha*), angico (tree of the *Mimosoideae* family), *Cassia fistula* L., *Erythrina falcate*, besides many other leguminous plants, as well as *Myrtaceae*, *Rutaceae*, *Eupobiaceae*, *Lauraceae*, *Apocynaceae*. A small valley on the western portion is occupied by eucalyptus reforestation. Recently, ornamental tree species were planted, including *Spathodea*, araucaria (tree of the *Araucariaceae* family), sibipiruna (*Caesalpinia peltophoroides*), tipuana (*Tipuana tipu*), guapuruvu (*Schizolobium parahiba*), quiri (*Paulownia fortunei*), pau-ferro (*Caesalpinia férrea*) and bamboos. A “Cherry Garden” was also created, with homogenous planting of cherry trees. All those trees haven’t reached adult size yet.’

Fig 60: Eucalyptus woods in Carmo Park



Source: Photo by author

A Sunday event, ‘Leitura no Parque’ (Reading in the Park), remains in the memory of those, who in their younger years, used to go to the park in the mid 1980s. The project consisted of lending books, with the presence of an author who chatted and read stories to the public. At that time, there were no snack shops or restaurants in

the park, so users had to bring their own snacks from home. There were areas for picnics – lawns in the shade, next to drinking water fountains – and barbeques in various places of the park.⁴⁷⁰

Those years were important for more than bucolic Sunday readings; it was when various social movements started to discuss socio-spatial issues that troubled Carmo. As soon as it was created, the Conselho de Usuários do Parque do Carmo (Users Council of Carmo Park) complained about the lack of transportation to the park and demanded connections to and from the centres of the neighbourhoods in the East Side. Simultaneously, mobilizations against the landfill (known as the ‘big dump’ – *lixão*) near Carmo Park started.

Diogo remembers that, in the context of the country’s re-democratization, many movements emerged in the East Side:

The movement for health went through a very important phase, the movement for decent housing, the movement for education, the movement for public universities in the east side, the pro-literacy movement. I found everything, movements against the creation of landfills, against floods.⁴⁷¹

The Movimento Contra o Lixo no Parque do Carmo (Movement Against Rubbish in Carmo Park), for its impact on urban dynamics, was prominent among the first social movements of the region. It emerged from the so-called ‘rubbish crisis’ when, facing the problem of urban waste deposits, the city created a landfill (called ‘lixão’ – big dump – by the population) in a large forested area near Carmo Park. In an interview, Diogo described the emergence of the ‘rubbish crisis’ and the environmental struggles:

When Erundina was a city councilwoman, from 1982 to 1986, I worked with her (...) In that period, to build an avenue in São Mateus, a slum had to be removed and its inhabitants were transferred to an area next to the landfill, the Pró-Morar Rio Claro

⁴⁷⁰ Parque do Carmo: para um piquenique no quintal da cidade. *O Estado de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, March 9, 1985.

⁴⁷¹ In: www.adrianodiogo.com.br/downloads/BURTI/svma_HistAmb_p161a200.pdf. Accessed on June 27, 2008.

housing complex. In the slum, there was a leader connected to Sister Celina, from Quarto Centenário, who, when she realized that there was a landfill next to her house, contacted us to organize a struggle against it. Mário Covas (mayor at the time) was infuriated and demanded that the garbage be deposited in a sand port, now known as Vila Jacuí, in São Miguel Paulista. The people from Jacuí got organised and called us. We organised two protests, one in São Mateus and another over there. The waste system of the city of São Paulo collapsed, because both landfills were closed. We kept both of them closed for approximately 90 days and obtained a great agreement. It was like this that such environmental struggles started.⁴⁷²

The landfill (implemented from Afonso de Sampaio e Souza to Ragheb Chohfi streets bordering Carmo Park and the São Mateus district) was located in an area with remnants of the Atlantic Forest, in the core of a residential neighbourhood. The dangers, therefore, were huge. Initially, the garbage that was deposited in open air motivated complaints from the residents because of the bad smell, the possibility of polluting the groundwater reservoirs and the contamination by flies and rats. The reaction of the local population was supported by various segments from the civil society. The manifestations had the presence of sanitary doctors, representatives from political parties and the Catholic Church, which celebrated masses in behalf of the cause, sometimes attended by nearly 200 people. On March 10, 1985, community organizations from various neighbourhoods in the East Side carried out a protest in front of the 'lixão.' Nearly 200 people participated, complaining of the bad smell, the proliferation of rats and insects and the appearance of health problems in the residents of the area. Employees of the Company of Environmental Sanitation Technology (CETESB) didn't explain what type of treatment was being given to the waste that was deposited there.⁴⁷³ In May, another protest with around 150 people was organized in front of the town hall. Mayor Mário Covas explained that it wasn't possible to close

⁴⁷² In: www.adrianodiogo.com.br/downloads/BURTI/svma_HistAmb_p161a200.pdf. Accessed on June 27, 2008.

⁴⁷³ Manifestação contra lixão no Parque do Carmo. *Folha de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, March 11, 1985.

the landfill immediately, but that he would have the place be inspected.⁴⁷⁴ After negotiating for three months with the city government, a group of residents from the region, including residents of Nove de Julho slum located next to the landfill (which would later be removed for the construction of Aricanduva Avenue), set up camp in the surroundings of the 'lixão' and kept a vigil to have it deactivated. The legendary encampment, which lasted 17 days and 17 nights, helped to raise the ecological awareness of the group, according to many of its participants. This new awareness stimulated participants to organise the Movimento SOS do Carmo (SOS Carmo Movement), which, after the deactivation of the 'lixão,' continued the struggle to creation an area of environmental protection.

During the 17-day encampment to close the landfill, we had intense contact with native life. We realized that there were many animals, abundant birds, a variety of native plants of the Atlantic Forest and the spring of the Aricanduva rivulet with crystal-clear water. There were many more things to do besides closing the landfill, so we took these issues to the mayor. There is a very important green area for the city of São Paulo. We started to research and discovered that the East Side was the region of the city that had the least green areas. Therefore, the goal of closing the landfill also raised the importance of preservation. If we hadn't done the camp-out, possibly today the Area of Environmental Protection (APA) of Carmo Park wouldn't exist and in its place we would have another Cohab (popular housing).⁴⁷⁵

On the other hand, in that region, characterized by the presence of precarious housing, the announcement of a public housing project on remnants of the Atlantic Forest was not criticized. In 1982, the Municipal Housing Company (Cohab) created 908 lots in a 200,000 m² area, but after the 'lixão' movement, three years later, the construction of houses was predominantly rejected by the residents of the area. So, when Cohab designed another project with 25,000 housing units during the administration of mayor Jânio Quadros (1985-1988), the population didn't support the idea because they were fighting for the preservation of the area. According to a sociologist that taught at a local school, the struggle for the Area of Environmental Protection had brought dignity to the population of that region of the East Side.

⁴⁷⁴ Moradores da Zona Leste querem fechar aterro sanitário. *Folha de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, May 31, 1985.

⁴⁷⁵ http://www.adrianodiogo.com.br/_downloads/BURTI/svma_HistAmb_p71a80.pdf. Accessed on May 30, 2007.

The East Side was organized to have a lot of people living there who had to leave the region to work kilometres away. The APA came to say: the population of that region needs to live well. You don't just destroy everything to build houses. What can we do about the environmental balance of the region and the quality of life of its residents?⁴⁷⁶

The 'lixão' was deactivated in 1985, during the administration of mayor Mário Covas, a few months after he mentioned the difficulties involved in closing it. The bill to create the APA was presented in 1987 by Councillor Roberto Gouveia, who belonged to the Workers' Party (PT). Governor Orestes Quéricia's rejection caused a new wave of manifestations, with the organization of another on-site encampment and vigil. The project was once again put forward to the City Council and, finally, the Law no. 6,409, of 5 April 1989, was unanimously approved, turning the region of the Carmo Park and Farm into an Area of Environmental Protection. This was regulated by state decree of 20 October 1993, according to which the Carmo APA, forest and park, as well as the Iguatemi Forest, would constitute a 9 million square meter ecological reserve. In addition, a zoning law established Zone for Predominantly Industrial Use (ZUPI) in an area of more than 4,000,000 m² at Vila Carmosina. The latter, neighbouring Carmo Park, hosted one of the first working class housing projects built in the East Side, in 1927. For decades, the area has also hosted the Festa do Pêssego (Peach Party), promoted by the Japanese community in Itaquera.

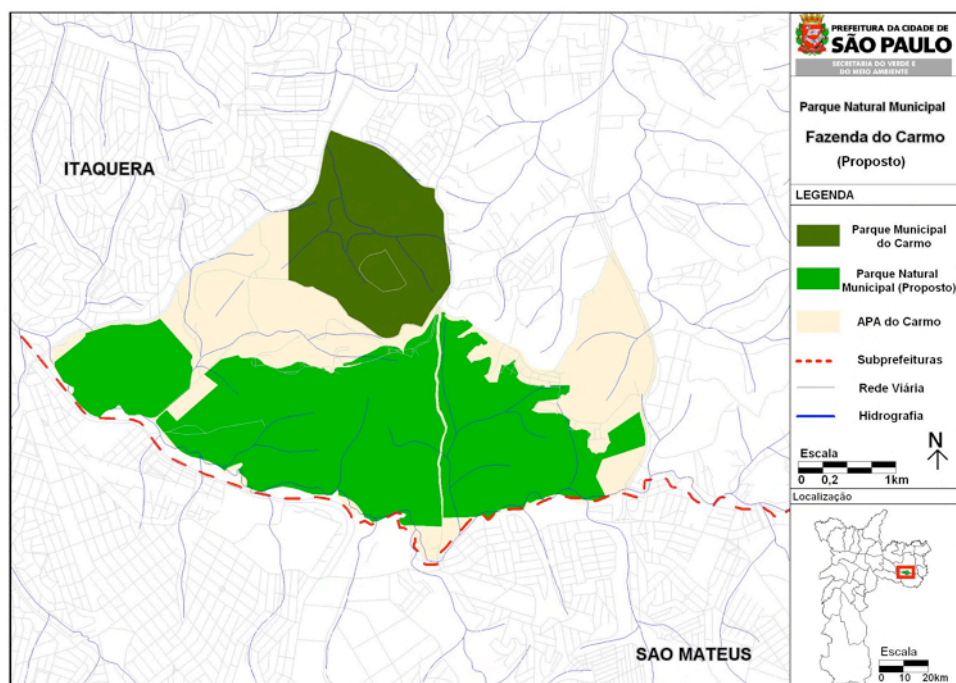
Considering that the place harboured a few metallurgical and cement industries,⁴⁷⁷ the creation of an industrial complex intended to attract other companies and create 70,000 new jobs in the region. However, in an interview, Diogo explained that the simultaneous construction of an industrial and an ecological complex in the East Side was a misunderstanding because, even though the industrial complex was a failure, it generated a demand for housing in the region and, with it, illegal deforestation: 'I think that has been a mistake because, at the same time that we

⁴⁷⁶ http://www.adrianodiogo.com.br/_downloads/BURTI/svma_HistAmb_p71a80.pdf. Accessed on May 30, 2007.

⁴⁷⁷ Vulcânia S/A, Concremix S/A, Niquelação Peres Ltda, Cimetal Ltda, Metalúrgica Gaiser Ltda, Magnum Metal Ltda, Perpal Ind. e Com. de Metais Ltda, Plast Seven Indústria de Plásticos Ltda and others. See www.esplivre.ufba.br/artigos/AngeloSerpa_diagnosticopreliminar.pdf

fought to create Carmo APA, an industrial complex was created in Itaquera. It was a contradiction.⁴⁷⁸

Fig 61: Delimitation of the APA, Carmo Park and Municipal Park



Source: www.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/.../index.php?p=5417

With the new zoning law, the real state market started to explore the advantages of the neighbourhood and describe its qualities. The region of Carmo Park was considered a privileged location because it offered environmental quality and proximity to jobs that were to be created by the industries.⁴⁷⁹ At the end of the administration of mayor Luisa Erundina (1989-1992), Cohab authorized the free use of almost 4,000,000 m² of the land the company owned within the Environmental Reserve, essentially giving permission for the Municipal Department of Parks and Green Areas (Depave) to create a natural park.

Although the major São Paulo newspapers reported some fundamental issues concerning the APA, the daily problems of Carmo Park were not discussed. In this way, unlike what happened at Ibirapuera Park, which was always present in the media, Carmo Park was rarely mentioned throughout the 1990s. One of the few special articles on Carmo Park during that decade was published by *Folha de S. Paulo*

⁴⁷⁸ www.adrianodiogo.com.br/downloads/BURTI/svma_HistAmb_p161a200.pdf. Accessed on June 27, 2008.

⁴⁷⁹ Região tem área de proteção ambiental. *Folha de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, February 15, 1998.

on January 1995. The newspaper mentioned the deplorable conditions of the park's equipment, which was considered as "the lung of the East Side".⁴⁸⁰

The main leisure option of the East Side, Carmo Park, is in a bad state of conservation (...) Last week, because of the rain, the playground was completely covered by mud. A lot of rubbish is left in the tracks of the park. The waste baskets are improvised with painting cans and carton boxes.⁴⁸¹

In fact, the news invariably presented the park as the 'Lung of the East Side,' or the 'East Side Park,' or still the 'Centre of Leisure of the East Side,' reinforcing its attributes as a place of entertainment for the residents of the region on weekends.⁴⁸² On Children's Day (October 12) or on the anniversary of the city (January 25), when Carmo Park was the stage of the celebration events, these events were always directed to the public of the East Side (as, for example, when singer Jorge Benjor performed a concert there in 1996).⁴⁸³

On June 1995, *Jornal da Tarde* criticized the fact that Carmo only hosted popular music events, differently from Ibirapuera, which received great international orchestras.

It was said that the Municipal Department of Culture budgeted 76 million *reais* for shows and popular events at Carmo Park.⁴⁸⁴ Even private sponsors, such as Pão de Açúcar and Corpore, which in April 1995 promoted the 1st Rustic Race of the Carmo Park, received much smaller feedback for investing in Carmo than in Ibirapuera.

According to *Folha de S. Paulo*, in the mid 1990s the average number of visitors to the park reached of 300,000 on Sundays. This information was made public because the city planned to build the largest bicycle path of the São Paulo in Carmo Park, for an estimated 1 million *reais*.⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸⁰ Carmo é o pulmão da Zona Leste. *Folha de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, January 22, 1995.

⁴⁸¹ *Idem, Ibidem*.

⁴⁸² Tudo sobre piqueniques. *Folha da Tarde*. São Paulo, October 7, 1994.

⁴⁸³ Eventos gratuitos marcam aniversário de São Paulo. *Folha de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, January 21, 1996.

⁴⁸⁴ Secretaria é simples produtora de eventos. *Jornal da Tarde*. São Paulo, June 4, 1995.

⁴⁸⁵ Parque do Carmo terá superciclovía. *Folha de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, September 8, 1995.

The city government also announced other projects for the Park in 1996 and 1997, although none of them (not even the bicycle path) were carried out during that administration.⁴⁸⁶ There was a lot of debate on the implementation, inside the Carmo APA, of the University of the East Side⁴⁸⁷ and of a planetarium (with an expected outlay of 4 million *reais*)⁴⁸⁸

The bill should be sent to the City Council during the first week of March for appreciation and voting. If approved, the city would build a group of colleges amidst the green area of Carmo Park, in the extreme East Side of the city. The construction will occupy 10% of the 300,000 m² of the park (which has an area of 1.5 million square meters) and the first phase will cost 5 million reais and offer 200 places for students.⁴⁸⁹

At the time, newspapers said the Bar Association of Brazil (OAB) was concerned with the smoke produced by the São Mateus Rubbish Processing Station, located in the Carmo APA. According to the lawyers, the station was harming the plants of the region.⁴⁹⁰

Frequently used for concerts, the park started to offer a 'Sunday at Carmo' program, a variety of music events on the last Sunday of the month. One of the most successful events took place on September 1997, with the performance of many important names from the Brazilian artistic scene, including TV presenter/singer Xuxa.⁴⁹¹ The event was attended by more than 200,000 people.

The site is the second biggest municipal park of the city, with an area of 1.5 million square meters. In 1989, it was transformed into an Area of Environmental Protection by the state, with a large expanse of forest with native species that tolerate more humid soils, like the *paineira* (*Chorisia speciosa*), *cedro-rosa* (*Cedrela fissilis*),

⁴⁸⁶ Cidade das bicicletas. *O Estado de S. Paulo*, São Paulo. February 16, 1997.

⁴⁸⁷ Zona Leste pode ter universidade. *O Estado de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, November 17, 1996.

⁴⁸⁸ Reaberto, planetário espera receber 15 mil pessoas por mês. *Folha de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, March 3, 1997.

⁴⁸⁹ *Revista da Folha*. São Paulo, January 21, 1996.

⁴⁹⁰ OAB diz que fumaça de usina ameaça o Parque do Carmo. *Folha de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, October 30, 1996.

⁴⁹¹ Xuxa, Exaltasamba e Soweto cantam no Parque do Carmo. *Jornal da Tarde*. São Paulo, September 28, 1997.

ipê (*Tabebuia*) and manacá (*Tibouchina mutabilis*). Carmo Park also hosts a lake shared by fishes (*tilapias*, *carás*, *barrigudos* and other epipelagic fish) and birds (ducks and geese). Two of the lake's islands are inhabited by macacos-prego (tufted capuchin monkeys). There is also a department for environmental education and an ecology museum.⁴⁹²

Fig 62: Sidewalk by the lake in the Carmo Park



Source: Photo by author

The announcement of the construction of the Aricanduva II and Aricanduva III reservoirs for sediment containment and flood control led to discussions in the APA Management Council, created in 1996. The initial impact of the construction required compensatory actions by the government, which invested in building fences and walls to uphold the preserved area. Although the construction of these large pools to contain rainwater was a priority during Celso Pitta's administration, Aricanduva II and III had not been finished by the end of his mandate.

⁴⁹² Xuxa, Exaltasamba e Soweto cantam no Parque do Carmo. *Jornal da Tarde*. São Paulo, September 28, 1997.

Fig 63: Lake in the Carmo Park



Source: Photo by author

When Aricanduva II was opened, during Marta Suplicy's administration, the Carmo APA had been turned into Special Zone of Environmental Protection (ZEPAM) by the 2002 Strategic Master Plan of the city of São Paulo.

To compensate for the environmental impacts imposed to the APA by the construction of the water reservoirs, the Parque Natural Municipal do Carmo (Carmo Municipal Natural Park) was created in an area that belonged to Cohab, by municipal decree no. 43,329, of June 12, 2003. This law also established that the implementation and administration of the Natural Park, which was considered an 'integral preservation and protection unit', fell to the Department for Parks and Green Areas (Depave) of the Municipal Green and Environment Department (SVMA). It also established that the Park should form a consultative council, presided by the SMVA and comprising representatives of public organs, civil society organisations and the Carmo APA consultative council. Thus, in addition to the APA councils and the new Natural Park, a management council was established for Carmo Park municipal law no. 13,539 of March 20, 2003.

In the same year, as determined by the 2002 Strategic Development Master Plan, a program for the economic development of the East Side was launched, suggesting interventions in the region of Carmo Park.

The determination to create an industrial complex in Itaquera still existed. The Jacu Pêssego Urban Operation aimed to build an extension of the avenue of the same name to Guarulhos, in the north, and Mauá, in the south, intersecting the Dutra and Ayrton Senna highways and connecting them to the centre of Itaquera and to the South Ring road in Mauá. Tax incentives would stimulate investors to build this new axial roadway.

In addition to incorporating the project to extend the Radial Leste avenue until Guaianases, the program also intended to connect Guarulhos and the ABC region⁴⁹³ bring the port of Santos closer to Cumbica airport, through the South Ring road. These actions had a metropolitan character to them because, besides strengthening the economy of the East Side, they intended to reach the entire ABC and the Alto Tietê regions.

These works led the APA Council and the city government to discuss compensatory actions once again. However, after Marta Suplicy's administration (that had extended Radial Leste to Guaianases and begun extending Jacu Pêssego avenue), only complementary works were carried out at Radial (a tunnel under the Itaquera subway) and the connection of Jacu-Pêssego with Guarulhos (the latter after a two-year stoppage).

The impact of the works program on the real state market and on the traffic of the East Side was described by a real state publication in the region of Carmo Park:

The municipal government has projects to develop an industrial and services complex in the East Side, using the Jacu-Pêssego complex as reference. Entrepreneurs have already realised that and are launching more developments in the region. Moóca, Penha and Tatuapé, although still have big developments, are already suffering the traffic consequences of this. It's possible to see that not only in big avenues, like Radial Leste, the Marginais or Celso Garcia, but also in the old 'shortcuts' with which local residents faced traffic problems.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹³ ABC are the cities of Santo André, São Caetano and São Bernardo in São Paulo's metropolitan region.

⁴⁹⁴ *ZL Imóvel*. <http://www.zlimoveis.com.br/noticias/?id=102>. Accessed on April 13, 2008.

And also:

In the last ten years, the neighbourhood of Carmo Park was ‘discovered’ by the real estate market. Because of the Master Plan and of the Park itself, it’s forbidden to construct buildings. However, in the surroundings we can already see luxury houses and private residential developments (condominiums). It’s also possible to see an excessive profusion of slums.⁴⁹⁵

Carmo Park started to receive private investments more frequently and better works. Celebrations of special dates, such as Children’s Day or the anniversary of the city, were now always sponsored by big companies.

The Carmo Planetarium opened on December 2005, sponsored by Telefônica, and was one of the most modern in South America. At the time, the park’s administrator, Cleiton Barcot Tintos declared: ‘With the planetarium, we are now attracting a different public, especially people from other regions of the city.’ Contradictorily, however, in the same interview, he affirmed:

Although it is one of the most beautiful areas of the city, it’s relatively unknown(...) In Ibirapuera, people are stressed by the difficulty to park cars and by the huge number of users (...) Carmo, on the other hand, is very quiet.⁴⁹⁶

A few months after the planetarium opened, mayor José Serra signed a bill expropriating a 5.5 million square meter area of the Carmo APA that belonged to the Companhia Municipal de Habitação (Cohab). According to the document, from this area, 1.5 million square meters were earmarked as an extension of Carmo Park, effectively doubling its area. The other 4 million square meters would be used as areas of natural preservation, restricted to protecting the flora and fauna and to research.

⁴⁹⁵ *ZL Imóvel*. <http://www.zlimoveis.com.br/noticias/?id=102>. Accessed on April 13, 2008.

⁴⁹⁶ *Jornal do Commercio*. Rio de Janeiro, March 2, 2006. In: <http://www.cbl.org.br/content.php?recid=3497&type=N>. Accessed on September 29, 2008.

Fig 64: The Planetarium in the Carmo Park



Source: Photo by author

On March 2006, the park was given a library with the opening of the ‘Bosque de Leitura’ (Reading Grove). It was part of a project of the Municipal Department of Culture that already existed in Ibirapuera Park since 1993 and Piqueri Park since 1999, which offered various free books, newspapers, magazines and comics for all age groups. It also disseminated other public library services of the city, such as *saraus* (story telling) and meetings with writers. The project was very well received by Carmo Park users.⁴⁹⁷

On July 8, 2007, the second Gay Pride Parade, organised by Grupo Zona, took place in the East Side. The idea of taking the Parade to the periphery aimed at overcoming prejudice in regions distant from the city’s centre. Grupo Zona was created in 2002, when they organized a big party in the region. In 2003, some homosexuals were murdered at Carmo Park and, as a result, the group organised the first Parade inside the Park in 2005, which brought together many users. Since then, a variety of GLBT activities (Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transvestite and Transsexual) have periodically taken place inside the park.⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁷ *Jornal do Commercio*. Rio de Janeiro, March 2, 2006. In: <http://www.cbl.org.br/content.php?recid=3497&type=N>. Accessed on September 29, 2008.

⁴⁹⁸ <http://www.serys.pro.br/midia.asp?id=653>. Accessed on July 25, 2007.

The year of 2008 has been marked by many events in the park. In May, there was the 29th edition of the Festa das Cerejeiras (Cherry Trees Party), celebrating once again the cultivation of the sakura trees (a type of cherry tree that is native from Japan). Approximately 3,000 people attended the party, which is organised every year by the Federação de Sakura e Ipê do Brasil. On the day of the party, the Japanese remembered the Hanami tradition, according to which the act of looking at flowers and caressing its petals transmits inner peace. The main attraction was the flowering of the cherry trees, but the party also had other types of performances, such as dances, gymnastics, choirs and concerts. Typical food was sold in booths spread all over the park.⁴⁹⁹

Fig 65: Japanese community celebration in Carmo Park



Source: www.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/.../noticias/?p=4787

In June, prince Naruhito, heir to the throne of Japan, inaugurated in the park a monument to celebrate the 100th anniversary of Japanese immigration to Brazil. Hundreds of people attended the ceremony, in which the prince and mayor Gilberto Kassab planted seedlings of cherry trees next to the monument. The monument, made by Kota Kinutani, is a large Japanese garden with seven stones brought from Japan, the one in the middle being painted in red, the colour that symbolises Japan. Children

⁴⁹⁹ <http://www.turismoresponsavel.tur.br/modules.php?name=News&file=print&sid=1301>. Accessed on May 22, 2008.

have been using the sculpture as toys, because some of them have benches, windows and stairs.⁵⁰⁰

Fig 66: Map of the Carmo Park



Source: Bartalini, Vladimir, 1999. Mimeographed copy.

⁵⁰⁰ *Folha Online*. In: <http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/folha/cotidiano/ult95u414560.shtml>. Accessed on October 29, 2008.

The lawns, the angico groves (tree of the *Mimosoideae* family), the eucalyptus forest and the great extension of remnant forest with native species, capable of withstanding more humid soils – such as paineira (*Chorisia speciosa*), cedro-rosa (*Cedrela fissilis*), ipê (*Tabebuia*) e manacá (*Tibouchina mutabilis*) – confer Carmo Park a peculiar landscape. The coffee plantation, the orchard and the cherry garden – very popular among users – can be seen along the ‘Trilha da Figueira’ (Fig TreeTrack). The plan of the track can be found in the at the Centro de Educação Ambiental (Environmental Education Centre), located in the Casarão, the old plantation farm house. According to study by the Divisão Técnica de Medicina (Technical Medicine Division), besides monkeys, harts and possums, the park has 64 species of birds.

7.2.1. The current usage of Carmo Park

According to data from empirical surveys, the most used areas of the park are the trails (used for hiking, running and biking), the playground and the lawn, for sunbathing or picnics. The food stands in front of the playground are always busy.

Most of the Carmo Park visitors come from the neighbourhood and the districts of Cidade Líder, São Mateus and Aricanduva, where the quality of life falls below basic levels.

There is a clear predominance of male visitors to the park, because men from different age groups go to the park alone in order to run or ride their bikes. The great majority of them are workers and do not have a college education. There is also a small percentage of unemployed and retired men.

Although most Carmo Park visitors are not regular visitors, those who come at least four times a year say they have made acquaintances in the park. They say they got to know the attendants of a certain shack where they usually grab something to drink. They also say they often run into old friends who practice the same sports.

Fig 67: Women and children enjoying the Park



Source: Photo by author

The women who visit the park, except for those who work at the shacks, are, in general, teenagers or adults between 25 and 30 years old. Teenagers visit the park with their boyfriends or with groups of friends. Oftentimes, they have children with them. Women between 25 and 30 years-old are, almost always, accompanied by their children and sometimes by their husbands or boyfriends.

Both men and women mention the positive environment and scenery of the park. Both mention the park in a coherent form according to its use. They claim to go to the park in search of peace, clean air, and contact with nature. Men often mention exercising as a reason to go to the park, while women mention leisure and quality time with their children.

Men and women complain about the lack of cleanup in the lake. Women worry about the place's safety and conservation of the equipment in the playground.

Fig 68: Children playing in the Park



Source: Photo by author

8. Reviewing the path: Ibirapuera, Carmo and the matter of socio-spatial public life

Studying the roles and potentials of São Paulo's most visited public parks from the viewpoint of the socio-spatial constitution of Brazilian public life involved a tortuous investigative path. Along this path, the methodological perspective, which incorporated spatial issues into a critical social theory, presupposed a fundamental theoretical explanation. The approach on which the present research is grounded is the possibility of using classical knowledge of modern social life as a reference point to understand the matter of public life in a Brazilian city.

In order to situate the emergence of public parks within the process of the organization of modern public life, this investigation brought back the course of constitution of urban sociability from the medieval European cities. This analysis made it clear that public parks emerged within the particular context of the English public establishment.

Unlike what happened in many continental European cities, where city squares flourished as the focal point of urban life, in England squares remained relatively unimportant (except as marketplaces) until the influences of urban theatre were felt during the Elizabethan era, when urban theatre emerged in London as a form of renovation of verbal, written, architectonic and urban languages. The Elizabethan theatre was responsible for engendering an architectural form that would catalyse and renovate English urban life, aggregating diverse social groups in a cultural event and promoting urban geographical expansion by stimulating the use of the land environing the city.

The spaces of modern public life were generated during the long process of consolidation of English liberalism in the turbulent 17th century. Hunting fields started being transformed into parks of urban character even before the English Civil War. However, as the other spatial forms established during the Stuart years, the parks that were opened would only be crystallized in the urban plexus in the 18th century – a period of intense development, when places where strangers could meet regularly started to proliferate in London.

Although the expression ‘public park’ only appeared in the Pre-Victorian Era, when green urban areas started being associated with the public health concerns of the industrial city, during the 18th century, green areas open to public use and conceived as an aesthetic landscaping proposal began to flourish into the urban plexus.

If the park of the 18th century was an idyllic scenery for the social (i.e., bourgeois) ritual of meeting others and displaying one’s self, the Victorian public parks, aimed at the working class, were designed to allow a large number of visitors to enjoy green areas during their free time. However, the parks that emerged from the massified industrial urban culture had specific formal characteristics before and after the dissemination of modernist concepts. These concepts, deriving from the new experiences with time and space that emerged with the industrial modes of production, aimed to transform the fragmented, expanded and segregated city by means of an ideal comprehensive plan that exalted green areas, space and sunshine. The goal of modernist public parks was to provide the recreational and leisure activities demanded by the new rhythm introduced by artificial time, but they were also a response to the need of developing the soft areas of the urban structure to compensate for the edified areas.

In spite of the fact that the modernist paradigm was the fountainhead of urban planning in the post-war period, the revitalization programs of European capitals started to be developed according to a new logic during the last, post-welfare decades of the 20th century.

At the same time the ideal of comprehensive planning was being replaced by the criterion of strategic planning, the role of the private sector in ambitious urban requalification projects was increasing.

In urban intervention programs, deemed post-modern, parks remained important because they acted as instruments for the ‘elitization’ of the space and the ‘valorisation’ of the land. Their novelty was that, by promoting a local image, they produced a powerful form of ‘spatial’ advertisement for cities competing for a good position in the hierarchy of the global urban system.

The theoretical reconsideration of the question of public urban parks in modern Europe functioned as a paradigm for discussing public parks in São Paulo’s urban culture. Considering that modernity, in São Paulo, was formed by absorbing

temporalities from other structures and situations and inserting them, fragmented, into the reality of the city, an assessment of how the classic development of public parks in modern European life became a reference to understand the issue of public parks in São Paulo. This investigation was based on the acknowledgement that analogies between urban phenomena can only be established after a broad analysis of the specific temporality and geography of the urban constitution of each area.

A careful analysis of spatial transformations and forms of urban sociability led to the organization of public life in Sao Paulo in the following timeframes: The first covers the period between 1888 to the late 1920s; the second refers to the 1930s until the first half of the 1960s; the third goes from the late 1960s to the first half of the 1980s and the last from the second half of 1980s to the late 2000s.

It was considered that, in Brazil the public sphere would only be delimited after the expansion and consolidation of a competitive social order during the last quarter of the 19th century, when São Paulo appeared as the privileged locus of the bourgeois revolution.

During the whole Colonial period and for most of the Empire, São Paulo was a modest city. The fact that it was at the core of the communication system of the entire Centre-South area of the country gave it an 'immemorial thrust' towards the countryside. In 1872, the city was still only the tenth largest centre of urban concentration in Brazil. Geographically isolated from the coastal cities that kept a direct relationship with European life, São Paulo had no deep experience of the period when urban sociability was being built upon courtly habits.

Since the opening of the Brazilian ports, Rio de Janeiro had become a locus of financial/commercial expansion and the perfect scenery for the establishment of an urban elite, for whom codes of behaviour were to become an important form of social distinction.

The fact that the Brazilian independence was succeeded and preceded by a monarchical regime made the elite pursue civilized manners first by emulating the habits of the Portuguese court (which was the only European court established in America).

A model of social life spread from Rio de Janeiro to other urban centres, where the local elites tried to consolidate their identity not only by reproducing those habits, but also by buying titles of nobility.

Along with courtly manners, the emerging public sphere was strongly influenced by the lifestyle advertised by the European bourgeoisie, above all through French literature.

However, unlike what happened in the classical paradigm, the Brazilian public sphere wasn't at first a space for the legitimization of the bourgeoisie, but worked as a means of social distinction for the emerging emergent elite.

Considering that the formation of the national State took place in a period when the country hadn't yet constituted a national society, its structural pillars shifted according to the interests of the native elite, which was bourgeoisifying and needed to adapt itself to the political philosophy of liberalism. Therefore, the bourgeoisie, even as it was being formed, found no obstacles to take control of the State, although they did face the challenge of creating a social dynamics capable of promoting them as the ruling class. In this manner, the process of the Brazilian bourgeois revolution demanded the establishment of constraints in the public sphere (of bourgeois character). However, in a society grounded on slave work, the liberal influence wasn't strong enough to constitute a public life that might represent the ideal of commonwealth. If around the middle of the 19th century the slave system already gave signs of an irreversible structural crisis, it was only in 1888 that slavery was finally abolished. Therefore, the bourgeois world, idealized and elitist, was constituted as a distinct locus in the cities, although it was based on a liberal philosophy that wasn't entirely inaccessible for exponents of the urban population.

The city of São Paulo emerged as the scenery of Brazilian bourgeois revolution in a period of moderate industrialization, when coffee plantations were gaining weight in the eastern area of the state. The socio-spatial contradictions that supported the triumph of São Paulo's bourgeoisie were generated throughout the colonial period. On one hand, the city was founded on such a strategic site that the village became a regional centre early in the colonization. On the other, in terms of the colonial economy, its marginal location led it to be less influenced by the deformities and limitations of a seigniorial lifestyle.

In the time period that encompasses both the Colony and the Empire, São Paulo accumulated the roles of access articulator, trading post, financial centre and nucleus of the incipient national industry.

Simultaneous with the process of immigration, the development of a bourgeois elite and the changes in the urban scene contributed to the abrupt emergence of bourgeois lifestyles and values in São Paulo and the establishment of a new, dominant lifestyle brought about by the creation of urban spaces for the use, acquaintanceship and representation of the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeois lifestyle and values, which were abruptly imported, took on the characteristics of a modernity where the public sphere, apparently intact, was already being internally corroded by the pressures of privatization generated by European capitalism in the 19th century. Thus, at the core of the dynamics that enabled the constitution of a public life in São Paulo, the forces that would lead it to its ruin were already present.

However, if the expansion and consolidation of the competitive social order required a limitation of the constraints of the public sphere, the social relationships influenced by liberalism were still strong enough to develop a bourgeois public life in São Paulo when industrialization was still incipient.

The boom of public construction works that intended to meet the objective and subjective demands of the bourgeoisie started in the last quarter of the Empire (1822-1889). Urban improvement and embellishment was carried out during the entire First Republic (1889-1929), but the largest investments were made in the first fifteen years after the abolition of slavery (1888), when the city experienced a surge of landscape gardening, planting of trees and paving of streets and squares. The Jardim da Luz, for instance, São Paulo's only garden park, abandoned since the 1870s, was renovated to serve as a meeting place for the bourgeois society.

In the last fifteen years of the Empire, urban life was marked by intense conflict between colonial values and the new rules of civility being imposed on an expanding city that had become the centre of dissemination of competitive values.

Improvement and embellishment programs accelerated real estate development and the consolidation of the emerging bourgeoisie's public life. Investments in new neighbourhoods for the new upper and middle classes and the renovation of

downtown meant that the production of the space implied land speculation and spatial segregation processes.

Rejecting the monotony and the backwardness associated with the recent colonial past marked by slavery, and seeking identification with the progress of the big European cities, the São Paulo bourgeoisie created channels of communication and spaces for socialization that were inspired by the habits of the old continent's elite.

So theatres, coffee shops, pastry houses and restaurants mirroring the refinement of European social life were built for the São Paulo elite to get together in. Private literary parties, music auditions and strolling in landscaped streets, squares and gardens became new habits of the new urban culture. However, the more the emerging public space attempted to reproduce a liberal lifestyle, the more explicit became the excluding character of this space. By denying the colonial slaveholding past, the bourgeois ideology hoped to erase the forms of sociability and cultural manifestations that did not comply with the 'civilized' standards of the European world.

Furthermore, the abrupt incorporation of the models of modern capitalism, which imposed a certain egalitarianism among all people in terms of urban improvements, generated strong social conflicts in a rigidly hierarchical society.

The focus of bourgeois idealization was the city centre, which was renovated between 1910 and 1920, with the construction of private buildings that aimed to increase the value of the public space, resulting in the construction of the major public parks of the first half of the period: D. Pedro II Park, in the marshy areas of the Tamanduateí river called Carmo floodplains; and Anhangabaú Park, in the valley of the Anhangabaú river.

However, the essence of such bourgeois social life would soon be corrupted by a new dynamics that the growing industrialization and the expansion of the labour market imposed on the recently-constituted public urban sphere.

From the 1930s on, the role of urban space changed from being the scenery of ideal bourgeois life to a means to facilitate the daily life of the middle classes. The new space emerged to meet the demands for circulation that, in São Paulo, were based on a road-traffic model influenced by North American urbanism.

The '*Estudo para um Plano de Avenidas para a Cidade de São Paulo*' (Study for a Plan of Avenues for the city of São Paulo), presented by Prestes Maia in 1930, indicated the beginning of a transition period. As defined by Villaça, during this period the 'beautiful city' would turn into an 'efficient city', meaning that the 'consumption city' was going to turn into a 'production city'.

Although the appendix of the Plan proposed a system of green areas (important because their relationship with the aesthetic characteristics and the traffic designs of the arterial plan), Prestes Maia's actions as mayor (1938-1945) revealed that gardened areas for common use wasn't really a priority. In the context of the Second World War and during the dictatorship of the Estado Novo (1937-1945), when a populist regime guaranteed the enactment of national labour laws, Prestes Maia's administration contributed to economic improvements by investing in traffic infrastructure in São Paulo.

During this period, only the state government invested to improve the infrastructure of two parks that already existed and had been set aside as preservation areas: the Estado Park – on the South, at the mouth of the Ipiranga river – and the Horto Florestal, up North, near the Cantareira ridge.

The idea of creating a park in the Ibirapuera marshlands began to be discussed in 1926, in the administration of mayor Pires do Rio. There was an immense public area that, after Companhia City [a huge real estate developer] began investing in real estate enterprises, became a privileged localization. According to the ideal of urban life current at the time, the creation of a park in the Ibirapuera marshlands would ensure salubrity, prevent sanitation problems and impede precarious forms of occupation in that recently-developed noble area of the city. Between 1929 and 1935, four different projects were designed for the park, which, according to the *Plano de Avenidas*, 'because of its central location and proximity to aristocratic neighbourhoods should be treated in a more artistic and refined way'.

From 1937 onward, the intention to built Ibirapuera Park became latent. Prestes Maia publicly regretted not having built it (in a report produced in 1945: 'Os Melhoramentos de São Paulo' ['São Paulo's Improvements']). During his administration (1938-1945), there was a reduction in the number of actions to provide green areas, as well intense discussions about free urban spaces. In reality, the period

heralded a new logic for the production of public spaces, whereby the ideal of ‘embellishment and improvements’, typical of the expansion of the competitive social order, was replaced by a functionalist concept focused exclusively on a road traffic model.

Although urban renovation – mainly the widening of streets and the construction of avenues and bridges – didn’t prevent the creation of a few gardened areas, these small adjacencies to the new traffic system followed a diverse paradigm from the one that had motivated the creation of squares and gardens during the embellishment period.

The reorganized and remodelled city of the 1940’s was going through a transition period fraught with conflicts. A paradox typical of this period concerned the lack of connections between the new traffic system, explicitly modern, and the aesthetic character of the architecture that was common in São Paulo. During most of the 1940s, the engineers of the city that had created conditions for the groundbreaking *Semana de Arte Moderna* (Modern Art Week) to take place in the 1920’s, continue to resist the penetration of the paradigm of modern architecture.

After World War II, when the first generation of engineer-architects converted to modernism was emerging in São Paulo, it also became clear that at the core of the city’s bourgeoisie was an interest group with great financial power that hoped to associate São Paulo with the liberal culture of the ‘developed countries’ (the terminology used at the time).

Therefore, paradoxically, São Paulo’s modern architecture, which aspired to meet social needs through aesthetic and political concepts radically different from the ones traditionally adopted by the national bourgeoisie, was stimulated by the emergence of a new group at the core of this very same bourgeoisie.

This emerging group had benefited from industrial exports during World War II and, in keeping with world capitalism’s need for technological development, sought new ways to identify the local milieu with international symbols of progress and modernity.

In the 1950s, as monopolistic capitalism was being established, the bourgeois elite sought to match the local identity with what was in vogue in the countries of

organized capitalism, leading to the constitution of a massified society culturally pliable to consumerism.

One of the central characteristics of the period was the very fast process of ‘metropolization’, because the geographical organization was being redefined by the impositions of a growing industrial sector.

With the increasing expansion of the periphery, the time spent commuting to work gradually imposed itself as a central determiner of social time, which since the onset of industrialization composed the everyday life of the middle classes and was based on the time imposed by work.

As the struggle for daily survival of the urban masses was becoming more intense, the role of communal spaces was being reduced and was barely meeting basic daily needs. In this way, even when the regime might have allowed political participation, the proliferation of the working classes in São Paulo was dependent on a dynamics that weakened public life. The social construction of time and space presupposed a routine in which social life was more in tune with the domains of the private rather than the public.

The urban population, struggling to survive every day in an environment in which they had a central role in social-spatial organization, became the target of political strategies. But the exercise of control by the ruling class wouldn’t be possible without the production of ideologies. The development of ideologies was essential, during the establishment of monopolistic capital, to enable a new socio-spatial order that might override the social space order constituted a few decades earlier, when competitive capital had still to consolidate a bourgeois revolution in São Paulo.

Urban planning, involving global studies that would actually never be carried out, began working in the sphere of ideology and reaffirming the growing process of spatial segregation. The *Programa de Melhoramentos Públicos* (Public Improvements Program), for instance, coordinated by urban planner Robert Moses in 1950, acted as a boundary with regard to the idealization of green urban areas. By proposing a regional approach for São Paulo, the program conveyed a new and unprecedented form of dealing with the question of parks in the city. Ibirapuera Park started being discussed again. Although there was no particular project, the park acquired significance and was included in the series of parks being proposed for the city.

Considered an equipment for social leisure, Ibirapuera Park, for its dimensions and location, acquired regional relevance.

Even though the *Programa de Melhoramentos Públicos* wasn't implemented and there was an sizable reduction of green areas in the city during the period of fast metropolization, the regional aspect of the municipal parks that were created at that time became clear through the other procedures that led to their construction.

The construction of Ibirapuera Park was made viable by an isolated public action, disconnected from any state policy regarding the creation of public parks and gardens. Its construction was carried out when the project, associated with the city's 400th anniversary celebrations, acquired a fundamental significance in the reordering São Paulo's identity, namely, the consolidation of monopolistic capital and of the development-driven bourgeois elite that were seeking new aesthetic-symbolic references. The actions of the *Comissão do IV Centenário da Fundação da Cidade de São Paulo* (Commission for the IV Centenary of the Foundation of the City of São Paulo), which were defined by municipal law in July 1951, were a sign of capitalistic restructuring. The president of the commission, Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho – Ciccillo, a prestigious industrialist and sponsor of the arts –, intended to objectively associate the image of São Paulo to the symbols of a fully developed modernity. The celebration was considered as an excellent occasion to inaugurate Ibirapuera Park, conceived as a venue for international trade where industrial fairs and artistic exhibitions could take place. As part of this context, the architecture of the park needed to have a modern character, one that expressed the technological proficiency of São Paulo.

It's important to make clear that the ideology underlying the construction of the park contribute to the production of public green areas in Sao Paulo in a very specific way. The park was a particular expression, an exception in the production of public parks in São Paulo.

Ibirapuera Park was inaugurated at a time when public life was being diluted by the expanding mass culture that was attached to the process of metropolization. Its opening ceremony occurred in the last part of the second period of our classification of São Paulo public life (the 1930s to the first half of the 1960s). Before and after Ibirapuera construction (between the 1930s and the 1970s), municipal investment in

parks was negligible. Only two other parks were created (Guarapiranga and Morumbi), whose combined area was one third of Ibirapuera's.

The absence of a parks policy lasted until 1974, when, concomitantly with decadence of the so-called 'Brazilian miracle' and a crisis in municipal funds, a new public drive led to the creation of twelve new parks by 1982.

Among the parks created in this period was Carmo Park, constructed during the most accelerated process of metropolization which corresponds to the third period of our public life periodisation (the late 1960s to the first half of the 1980s). Not long after its inauguration in 1976, Carmo Park consolidated a regional importance comparable to that of the Ibirapuera park.

The study of the creation and usage of each of Ibirapuera and Carmo parks confirmed the hypothesis that the role and the potentialities of urban parks are regulated by complex processes of spatial segregation and organization of the public life. Therefore, the present methodology, based on the connection between the dynamics of the spatial establishment and the organization of the public life, allowed a dialectical approach of those parks.

A dynamic analysis of those parks shows that their roles and potentialities are linked to representations and ideologies that are related both to the process of spatial segregation and to the socio-cultural order of public life. If, on one hand, the representations and ideologies of the ruling order of public urban life have a homogenizing aspect, those connected with the process of spatial segregation establish a spatial hierarchization that makes the roles and potentialities of those parks radically different in the urban context.

At a time when the city was growing ostensibly, the municipal government could no longer ignore the matter of public green spaces. Moreover the penetration and proliferation, during the 1970s, of a new ideal of leisure in Brazil led officials to new modes of action.

The studies by Santana show that importing an ideal of leisure at a time not only of dictatorship but also of crisis in the Brazilian miracle had a clear ideological function, namely, to mask signs of weakness in the developmentalist model.

In this way, not only were parks included in the municipal agenda, but public actions were directed to various incentive programs for leisure and sports. At the

period, sports courts and jogging tracks were incorporated as fundamental elements of municipal public parks, implemented not only in the new parks, but also in the old ones whenever the spatial dimensions allowed. During the 1970s, the municipal government started to put into practice effective strategies to provide green areas for recreation. Legislation was amended, land was expropriated to implement parks, and fully-equipped parks and squares were built in areas already reserved for public use. The implementation of parks between 1974 and 1982, , didn't prevent the city from being called 'concrete city' and 'grey city'.

Carmo Park, located in the East zone of the city, in the district of the same name, is under the responsibility of the sub-municipality of Itaquera, an extremely poor region.

The peculiar history of the occupation of the East zone began during the Colonial period, but only in the 1930s did it become a poor suburb in the outskirts of São Paulo, when a large extension of unoccupied land started to be explored and subdivided into plots (clandestine or not) for the poorest segments of society.

In those plots (which almost always lacked infrastructure), houses were built through self-construction method, ignoring regulations. The omission of the State regarding the expansion of illegal neighbourhoods was strategically important to consolidate a particular pattern of suburbanization, which can be seen in the urban landscape of the region until the present day.

During the 1950s, while the Southwest region (where Ibirapuera Park is located) concentrated people with higher income, the East zone turned into a huge poor side of the town. In the 1960s, the area had no industrial plants; the population that lived there, distant from the centre and its higher concentration of jobs and services, had to travel long distances to work every day.

During the 1970s, when Carmo Park was built, the urban political scene was dominated by a pact between the municipal government and the peripheral neighbourhoods. Illegal constructions were tolerated under a scheme by which urban improvements might be transformed into votes and community leaders into vote seekers.

The main newspapers of the city described Carmo Park, inaugurated with the presence of the mayor and of the governor, as the great park of the East zone. For the

following two months, when only a fifth of the total area of the park was open to the public, it remained crowded and visitors' cars caused traffic jams in the streets that led to it. Newspaper articles, noticing that its equipment and vegetation had not been vandalized, congratulated the inhabitants of the East zone for their behaviour. This tendentious approach did not clarify why it assumed the majority of the visitors were from East zone and why it took for granted that they would not know how to use public space.

Ibirapuera Park, on the other hand, soon after inauguration, was deemed a 'permanent instrument and a centre for popular recreation that demonstrates São Paulo's cultural level, as well as the city's industrial, commercial and agricultural progress'.

In this way, the media were still highlighting a representation of the park as a symbol of the city conceived by development-oriented people. Besides being an expression of São Paulo's modernity, the park was seen as a stimulator of urban social life. It was widely said that the international fairs, the high-level cultural exhibitions and the popular activities made it one of the most important parks of the world.

However, conflicts related to the use of the park's open space that emerged soon after the opening celebrations revealed that such idealization was contradictory, not only in terms of the ruling dynamics of urban social life, but also in relation to the geographical dynamics of São Paulo.

As mentioned in the previous paragraphs, during the 1950s the focus on circulation imposed a type of urban formation in which spaces for common use were not primarily designed for the bourgeoisie to enjoy. Therefore, with regard to the establishment of monopolistic capital, the creation of a symbolic apparatus revealing the industrial modernization and the economic growth of São Paulo (ambitions of the upper segment of the bourgeoisie) was structurally important, whereas investment in social life was not.

Since preserving the park as a centre of São Paulo's public life was not a priority, the maintenance of the park and the use of its building for cultural purposes, as it had been originally idealized, were not indispensable. It is not surprising, therefore, that in 1957 mayor Juvenal Lino transferred City Hall to the Palácio das Nações, a building that had hosted a few years earlier the II Bienal de Arte Moderna

(II Modern Art Biennial). Two years later, the state government took over the Pavilhão da Agricultura (Agriculture Pavilion) to house the transit department, DEPAVE (Departamento Estadual de Trânsito de São Paulo).

The occupation of the buildings by government agencies and the poor maintenance of the park led to frequent outcries from members of the civil society, particularly intellectuals, artists and professionals. In 1959, the protesters demanded that an institution be created to manage the park. This institution was to comprise a mixed committee of intellectuals, artists and government officials to assure that the principles that had guided the design of the park weren't lost. In 1963, clamour arose against the closing of the Modern Art Museum (which was brought back to the park in 1968).

During the dictatorship, whenever a new mayor was appointed, renovation measures were announced for Ibirapuera. These actions were advertised as fundamental to definitely turn the park into a place of well-designed landscape for cultural and recreational purposes.

In 1968, at the same time that a bid was announced to build a traffic system with 3 bridges connecting 23 de Maio (then under construction) and Rubem Berta avenues [which would become the fundamental north-south thoroughfare of São Paulo], implicating in the loss of a large area of the park, mayor Faria Lima repeatedly insisted that his intentions were to turn Ibirapuera into a more luxuriant place. The mayor requested that new plans be designed and ordered changes in the administrative organization responsible for green public areas, but, on the other hand, did not propose concrete actions to create and maintain São Paulo's gardens and parks.

In May 1974, landscape designer Burle Marx was invited to develop a project that, according to him, would 'humanize the entire park by means of vegetation that would act as an integrating element for the various types of equipment'. This project, however, was never implemented. In 1976, the area of Manequinho Lopes vivarium was incorporated into the park and the architect Oscar Niemeyer was invited to design a project to recuperate the park. The goal was to turn the park into a 'space for leisure'. Twenty-one years after the architect had designed the project, he declared:

‘Ibirapuera today is no more than a series of lots cut by vehicle circulation, its role totally corrupted.’

Despite the fact that the modernist project included the circulation of vehicles inside the park; in the middle of the 70’s Oscar Niemeyer suggested to restrict them as the excess of cars and motorcycles in the internal streets had become an evident problem.

Besides directly portraying the drastic increase in the number of cars circulating in the city that occurred from the mid 60’s (when production and consumption of the automobile acquired a strategic role in the reproduction of monopolistic capital), the conflict of use between pedestrians, motorcyclists and motorists inside the park shows that the dynamics of appropriation of public space was also influenced by the same dominant ideologies that facilitated the reproduction of the abstract space in that period in Sao Paulo.

The conflict between pedestrians, motorcyclists and motorists inside the park (that began in the early 1970s) remained in full force in the following decade. The prohibition of cars and motorcycles in some areas of the park during weekdays and in the entire park on weekends and holidays was implemented in September 1980 – but was not enough to solve the matter.

On one hand, the pressure from car drivers and motorcyclists who felt deprived from enjoying ‘São Paulo’s main green area’ was constant during the early 1980s. On the other, a *Conselho de Usuários* (Users’ Council) was formed to ensure the safety of users by enforcing security measures and inhibiting motorcyclists who insisted on entering the park in forbidden areas or days.

Besides that, there were the other lasting issues. The proposal to declare the park an architectural heritage site was intermingled with the removal of the government agencies. The same segment of organized civil society – particularly the professionals, intellectuals and artists – that believed that the ideals of the original project had been distorted by disputes between the municipal and state governments defended the idea of setting it aside, as a way to solve the park’s maintenance problem, which persisted throughout the 1980s.

In 1985, at the end of mayor Mário Covas' short mandate, bill number 9,872 was finally approved, forbidding the circulation of vehicles inside the park and setting a three-year deadline for the removal of the public departments from Ibirapuera.

It's important to notice that for 30 years after its inauguration, the use of Ibirapuera Park was characterized, on one hand, by bad maintenance of its architecture and gardens, and, on the other, by a persistent ideologization of its space.

The ideologies were somewhat contradictory, promoting conflicting uses and perceptions. The idea that Ibirapuera was the 'São Paulo's main green area' was used alike by those who favoured allowing cars and motorbikes to circulate in the park and by those who fought for prohibiting them. The notion that Ibirapuera was rated among the 'best urban parks of the world' could motivate equally the appropriation of its buildings by the government and the belief that the buildings should be used to stimulate urban cultural life.

Those ideologies, originally associated with the development-oriented concept that underlay the construction of the park, remained operative in the daily development of the park, above all because of Ibirapuera's location in the spatial order of São Paulo – an organization, constituted and reinforced by the process of spatial segregation, that revealed a model of concentration whereby the higher income segments of society lived in the Southwest area of the city (where the park is located). Ideologically speaking, this area also remained the main region of the city.

In a context in which ideologies related to the production of space were fundamental to determine the park's role in the metropolis, Ibirapuera had unique characteristics, despite the fact that the ruling order of public life originally strove to homogenize all parks. With regard to Carmo Park, located at the 'distant' East zone, a study of the uses and perceptions revealed that the hierarchizing representations associated with the ideology of spatial segregation were imposed by quite different means.

The project of Carmo park was implemented slowly over the years following its inauguration (1976), a period during which the media announced constant improvements and the planting of cherry trees in the great 'East zone park'.

In 1982, Carmo park, which by then had acquired considerable regional importance, was facing serious maintenance problems. Social movements started to

influence the issues that affected it, because after the country's re-democratization the East zone was slowly turning into an important place where urban reform movements (in behalf of health, housing, education, and against illiteracy, landfills and floods) aimed to transform the lives of the poor who lived in the periphery.

Concomitantly to the creation of the *Conselho de Usuários do Parque do Carmo* (Users' Council of Carmo Park), there was a huge outcry from the local population against the Carmo park '*Lixão*' (landfill [literally 'Big Dump']). The movement was a spin-off of the so-called 'rubbish crisis': facing the problem of where to deposit urban waste, the municipal government created a landfill in a large forested area neighbouring the park.

The *Movimento Contra o Lixo no Parque do Carmo* (Movement Against Rubbish at Carmo Park) that was prominent among the first social movements in the region and for its impact in urban dynamics, was supported by various sectors of civil society such as sanitarian doctors, representatives of political parties and of the Catholic Church.

The protests took place during the first part of 1985. A legendary vigil to stimulate the deactivation of the landfill, made by residents from the region, was fundamental to the raise of ecological awareness. This new consciousness encouraged participants to organise the movement (Movimento SOS do Carmo) that continued their struggle for the creation of an area of environmental protection even after the Lixão was disbanded in 1985.

After the *Lixão* movement, public housing projects designed by Cohab [municipal low-income housing development company] in areas containing remnants of the Atlantic Forest started to be rejected by the area's residents who, despite living in precarious residences, preferred to set the land aside for preservation.

The bill creating Areas of Environmental Protection (APA) that had been firstly presented in 1987, was enacted in April 1989. The law regulated by State Decree no. 37,678, of October 20, 1993, finally established a special environmental zone for Carmo Park, and for Iguatemi forest, creating a 9,000,000 m² Ecological Reserve. At the same period Cohab was signing a document giving away almost 4,000,000 m² of its land inside the Environmental Reserve, which allowed the Departamento de Parques e Áreas Verdes (Department for Parks and Green Areas) to create a 'natural park'.

The environmental role of Carmo Park is noticeably very singular when compared to Ibirapuera's. Carmo registers the introduction of environmental trends and ecological concepts in Brazil. Even the descriptions by the media – 'the lungs of the East zone' or 'the East Zone park', representations that helped to establish and consolidate its environmental role – were associated with the ideals of quality of life and sustainability that had begun to guide the actions of a variety of NGOs and helped to reformulate the government agencies responsible for green areas and environmental matters in São Paulo.

At that time, however, the production of green areas wasn't compatible with in-depth environmental debate. From the 1990s on, when acquiring a home was becoming more difficult for the poor and the number of slums in São Paulo was increasing, green areas were being created exclusively in areas held by private real estate developments. As a consequence, the parks that opened in the 1990s and early 2000s were much smaller than the ones from the 1970s and 1980s, which derived from the expropriation of land with landscape potential or physical-natural attributes.

In other words, the consolidation of Carmo park's environmental role occurred in a period when the pressure from social movements had helped to improve considerably the infrastructure in some areas of the periphery. The absence of other large parks in the region also enhanced Carmo's importance.

Over the past twenty years, when the public-private dynamics generated in São Paulo was characterized by conflicts between poverty and wealth determining the process of spatial segregation, the role of both parks and their metropolitan character acquired great importance. A research commissioned by the *Serviço Social do Comércio* (Commerce's Social Service) in 1996 indicated that green areas had become extremely busy places in the metropolis and that the favourite green areas in the city were the big parks, Ibirapuera and Carmo in particular.

Although the roles of each metropolitan park were becoming increasingly distinct in that period, the uses and improvements of Ibirapuera started to be employed as references for Carmo Park as well.

Public-private partnerships, which became noticeably more popular for urban projects in São Paulo during the 1990s, also characterized the implementation of the project '*Mais Ibirapuera pra você*' (More Ibirapuera for you). Private sponsors of

music and sports events in Ibirapuera (Pão de Açúcar and Corpore) also funded smaller initiatives in Carmo park during the 1990s. However, as the problems Carmo faced were rarely conveyed in São Paulo's media, the sponsors' return on their investment was much lower when compared to Ibirapuera.

Carmo park began to host the event '*Domingo no Carmo*' (Sunday at Carmo) when diverse music concerts were performed throughout the last Sunday of each month. In contrast, Ibirapuera's Praça da Paz was the site of the 'São Paulo Passo e Compasso' project, with performances by great international orchestras and famous representatives of Brazilian popular music every Sunday morning.

When Ibirapuera's Master Plan, designed by Oscar Niemeyer, finally started to be implemented in 1996, the constant discussions on the renovation works contained in the plan motivated the development of various projects at Carmo Park, such as building a planetarium inside the area of environmental protection (APA). Almost ten years later, when private investments started being funneled to Carmo Park on a more regular basis, one of Latin America's most modern planetariums was inaugurated in the park (but outside the APA), sponsored by Telefônica.

Since the turn of the millennium, Children's Day and the anniversaries of the city have been celebrated with events sponsored by big corporations at Carmo Park. In March 2006, an open air library and a reading field were inaugurated in the park, a project implemented by the Municipal Department for Culture, created in 1993, to lend books, newspapers, magazines and comics to park visitors.

The murder of three homosexuals in Carmo Park in 2003 was surely one of the reasons that led to the organization, in 2005, of the first Gay Pride Parade within the park. Since then, many other activities and celebrations promoted by homosexual entities have been periodically organized in the park.

The existence of the the so-called "Gay Garden" in Ibirapuera Park also contributed to that. The project had been launched in 2002, without the support of residents in the vicinity of the park. The site, also known as *Autorama*, used to be attended by the homosexual community for 10 years and was transformed into the *Espaço de Convivência Homossexual* (Space for Homosexual Acquaintanceship).

In spite of the growing connections between the uses and representations of Ibirapuera and Carmo in the past ten years, recent public policies and requalification

programs have been reinforcing the dominant role of each of these metropolitan parks. In the case of Carmo Park, the environmental character has become very important.

In 2003, as a compensation for the environmental impacts on Carmo park's APA from the construction of the water reservoir Aricanduva II, the *Parque Natural Municipal do Carmo* (Carmo Municipal Natural Park) was created in an area that belonged to Cohab, and has since been designated a *Unidade de Conservação de Proteção Integral* (Unit of Integral Preservation and Protection). The same law determined that the implementation and administration of the Natural Park would fall to the Municipal Department for Green and Environment (SVMA) and to a Advisory Council composed of representatives from public agencies, organisations of the civil society and the Advisory Committee of the Carmo APA. Therefore, in addition to establishing advisory commissions for the APAs and for the new Natural Park, Carmo park also helped to organize a regulatory management council.

In the same year, according to what was had been stipulated in the 2002 Master Plan for Strategic Development, a program for the economic development of the East zone was launched, impacting the Carmo park area through the Jacu Pêssego Urban Operation (which offered tax incentives to stimulate investors to invest in the area). This urban operation, however, advanced very slowly. Besides the first interventions in 2004, only minor complementary works were carried out.

On the other hand, continuous urban interventions in the Southwest region extended the limits of the region to which the elite's neighbourhoods converged in ways that resembled the old patterns of concentration of wealth in the urban space. In this manner, the ideologies underlying spatial segregation are still using Ibirapuera as the symbol of an idealized São Paulo. This became evident when the park was chosen as the symbol of the city in a survey by the newspaper *Folha de São Paulo*, when the city was celebrating its 450th anniversary.

Ibirapuera Park, since its inauguration, has been considered an expression of São Paulo's modernity and it has never ceased being represented as one of the most important parks in the world. Therefore, considering the spatial competition among cities of good ranking in the hierarchy of the global urban system, it's not surprising that the park's image as a cultural centre and a stimulator of international public life should be revitalized today.

Between 2005 and 2007, all the government agencies that still remained inside park were removed and their buildings were used the house new museums. In September 2008, the guidelines of a new Master Plan for Ibirapuera Park were in process of being approved. The new plan proposes the physical integration of the park's edified areas and the construction of an underground parking lot, adding nearly 400,000 m² to Ibirapuera and contributing to restore the character of the park as a centre of culture and leisure (active and contemplative). It's evident, therefore, that the old development-oriented ideal is still present in producing a concept of park that announces the need to compete in the global arena.

Finally, after examining the dominant contemporary role of each of São Paulo's metropolitan parks, it's important to emphasize that the potentialities of an authentic public life, found in the dynamics of use of both parks, could not have been actualized without overcoming the conditions imposed by the determining process of spatial segregation.

If, quoting Lefebvre, the history of capitalist accumulation is the history of the separation and mutual antagonism between 'appropriated space' and 'dominated space', the spatial segregation binds to the 'dominated space' not only by imposing a fragmentation in the use of spaces and consequently the public conviviality, but also because it requires the establishment of ideologies which, bounded to the property, block the possibility of a genuine flowering of appropriation of space for public life. However, the study of practices and representations in the two most used metropolitan parks in Sao Paulo showed that the possibilities of appropriation of space are not absent. On the contrary they are manifest in all possible ways of using space that effectively bring pleasure to the individual and therefore, could contribute to the enrichment or construction of a satisfactory public life in a society that would be pre-disposed to this.

Final Considerations

The role and potentialities of Ibirapuera and Carmo Park were discussed within the methodological-theoretical framework, starting from the construction of an approach to the public life in São Paulo. This approach allowed us to establish the characteristics and time frame of a historical and geographical investigation of the production, uses and representations of Carmo and Ibirapuera parks.

After clarifying the parameters that might distinguish the classical paradigms of modern public life and knowledge *about* public life in a Brazilian city, this work presented the characterization and time frame that, within the socio-spatial dialectic, incorporated both the dominant debate on the constitution of the State and national society, and the geographical discussions on urban transformations.

It was understood that bourgeois public life in São Paulo emerged during the period of expansion and consolidation of the competitive social order in Brazil. As the city of São Paulo emerged as a scenario for the Brazilian bourgeois revolution during a time of moderate industrialization, it became a privileged locus for importing the bourgeois lifestyle and values of European capitals.

The centre of the city became the focus of bourgeois idealization and its renovation, carried out between 1910 and 1920, resulted in the major public parks of the first half of the 20th century. The idea of creating a park in the Ibirapuera marshlands began to be discussed as early as 1926. According to the ideals of urban life current at the time, the creation of such a park would contribute to the salubriousness of the city, avert sanitation problems and prevent precarious forms of occupation in that recently developed “noble” area.

The second period of our approach to public life in São Paulo initiates by the 1930’s, when the city’s bourgeois lifestyle would increasingly be challenged by the new dynamics imposed by the growing industrialization and the expansion of the labour market on the recently-constituted public urban sphere. According to the Lefebvre’s theory, it is possible to affirm that the decadence of public life in São Paulo was concomitant with the ascendancy of everyday life.

The time spent commuting to work gradually established itself as a central driver of social time, which since the onset of industrialization composed the

everyday life of the middle classes, based on the imposed time dedicated to work. The role of urban space ceased being the scenario of an idealized bourgeois life to become a means of facilitating the everyday life of the middle classes. This new space emerged to meet the circulation requirements that, in São Paulo, were based on a road-traffic model influenced by North American urbanism.

The city was undergoing a contradictory time of transition. During the 1940s, while the ruling class still enjoyed a relationship with the centre of the city, the Anhangabaú valley (considered ‘the Living Room of the city’) was gradually losing its green area and, thus, its identity, as it was transformed into the irradiation centre of the traffic system then under construction. Although urban renovation created a few gardenized areas, these small areas bordering the new traffic system followed a functionalist concept.

Four different projects were designed for Ibirapuera Park between 1929 and 1935. In spite of that, between 1937 and 1950, the intention to build the park seemed to be abandoned.

In 1950, Robert Moses’ Public Improvements Programme took on Ibirapuera Park once again, but this time from another angle. Although the plan was never implemented, the regional character of the park was made manifest by a different paradigm – one that made it viable, namely, an isolated public effort, disconnected from state policies regarding the creation of public parks and gardens.

Ibirapuera Park was built when its plan, associated with the city’s 400th anniversary celebrations, acquired a fundamental significance in reordering São Paulo’s identity and helped to consolidate monopolistic capital and the development-driven bourgeois elite that believed the architecture of the park had to have a modern character, one that expressed São Paulo’s technological proficiency.

The third period of our classification starts in the 1960s, when spatial segregation radicalized and became a vehicle for the ‘abstraction’ of social space in São Paulo. Among the processes that expressed this radicalization was the bourgeoisie’s abandonment of the city centre. Spatial segregation was always connected to the consolidation of abstract space in São Paulo or, to put it another way, the dynamics of peripherization, verticalization, favelization, suburbanization of the elite etc., were all attempts to hierarchize and fragment space by the fundamental,

homogenizing force of spatial segregation. These processes converged and led to the collapse of an urban lifestyle and to the emergence of new patterns of sociability in São Paulo. Within this urban framework, with overriding pressures for the privatization of social life, Ibirapuera Park had a contradictory role. On one hand, maintenance problems worsened throughout the 1960s and the problem of government agencies located inside the park remained without a solution from 1957 onward. On the other, as various sources indicated, public opinion expressed great pride in the Park as representative of the city's IV Centenary, was fascinated with Niemeyer's sinuous architecture and rejected the discreet and preservationist architecture of Teixeira Mendes.

With every new municipal administration, new remodelling actions in Ibirapuera were announced, although very little was actually ever done. For all practical purposes, no systematic action to benefit parks, squares or public garden areas was undertaken in São Paulo until 1974. On the contrary, many existing park areas were swallowed by the traffic system during that period.

However, between 1974 and 1982, even with municipal finances in dire straits, twelve parks were built – two of them on the city's East zone: Carmo Park, in 1976, and Piqueri Park, in 1978.

Whereas the peculiar history of the occupation of the East zone began during the Colonial period, it was only in the 1930s that a large extension of unoccupied land started to be developed, eventually being transformed into a poor suburb in the periphery of São Paulo.

It had become increasingly difficult for government to keep on ignoring the problem of the lack of green public spaces in São Paulo at a time when the city was expanding frantically and a fundamental new issue came to bear: the ideal of leisure, which penetrated and was disseminated throughout Brazil in the 1970s. Underlying this ideal, in a time of crisis for both the so-called "Brazilian miracle" and the military dictatorship, was a clarifying ideology: to mask the signs of weakness of the developmentist model.

Carmo Park was conceived and built under this ideology. Throughout the 1970s, city officials established effective strategies to provide green areas for recreational

purposes. Legislation and expropriation efforts to implement parks were improved during this time, but did not prevent a process of annihilating the city's park potential.

Although the new spatiality's homogenizing power tended to fragment and hierarchize, in the urban context of the 1970s, at a time when the dictatorship hindered free interlocution of the channels of communication, the growth of popular movements, managing to capture the needs of everyday life, revealed the potentialities of a liberal public life.

From the second half of 1980s till now, the fourth and last period of our classification, other demands began forging the dynamics and perspectives of popular movements in the context Brazil's re-democratization.

The Movimento Contra o Lixo no Parque do Carmo (Movement Against Rubbish at Carmo Park), which began in early 1985, was prominent among the first social movements of the East Zone for its impact on urban dynamics. Noticeably, the environmental role of Carmo Park is quite singular, as it heralds the introduction of environmental trends and ecological concepts in Brazil.

In March 1985, after the reestablishment of democracy in Brazil, under the headline 'The city wants Ibirapuera back', the *Folha de São Paulo* newspaper organized a series of debates with representatives of civil society and government officials. The proposals that were considered led to ongoing campaigns in favour of reserving Ibirapuera exclusively for culture and leisure

On the other hand, as Teresa Pires do Rio Caldeira showed, São Paulo in the 1990s was more diverse and fragmented than in the 1970s due to the dissemination of the so-called 'fortified enclaves' throughout the urban net. Using the need for protection against violence as an excuse, São Paulo was being turned into a city of walls.

Villaça demonstrates that another important aspect of São Paulo's spatial segregation in the last twenty years relates to the centre of the city. If, in the mid-1960s, the city's bourgeoisie abandoned the traditional centre and adopted Paulista Avenue as the new centrality, the ensuing dispersion of the central area far beyond Paulista Avenue turned São Paulo into a *sui-generis* metropolitan centre in Brazil. From the 1980s onward, the delimitation of such a huge central area was highly controversial and complex.

During this period, green areas were created mostly in land held by private real estate developments. Moreover, the parks that were opened the 1990s and early 2000s were much smaller than the ones opened from the 1970s to the 1980s.

The absence of other large parks in the east zone contributed to increasing the use and the importance of Carmo Park. Moreover the pressure from social movements helped to improve considerably the infrastructure in some areas of the periphery and favoured the consolidation of its environmental role.

At the same time, the uses and improvements of Ibirapuera started to be employed as references for Carmo Park.

When Ibirapuera's Master Plan, designed by Oscar Niemeyer, finally started to be implemented in 1996, the constant discussions on the renovation works contained in the plan motivated likewise the development of various projects at Carmo Park. In spite of that, due to spatial segregation, the role of each park became increasingly distinct in that period.

Differently from what happened to Carmo Park, Ibirapuera kept being represented as an expression of modernity and development of São Paulo since its inauguration.

Furthermore, in an era of spatial competition among cities of good ranking in the hierarchy of the global urban system, the dominant interests focus on Ibirapuera Park once more. In this case, the need to compete in the global arena seems to reinforce the old Paulistan ideologies. After all, the recent wave of investments that finally removed all the government agencies from the park to house new museums does not seem to diverge from the old developmentist conception that saw Ibirapuera as one of the most important parks in the world.

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